CHECKED

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF

MAHATMA GANDHI

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PREFACE

During the period of four and a half months (June 1 to October 15, 1929) covered in this volume, Gandhiji continued his efforts to educate public opinion for the coming struggle for independence in terms of the Calcutta Congress Resolution of the preceding year. After a strenuous tour of Andhra in April-May, he went for rest to Kausani in Almora, where he finished his Gujarati translation of the *Bhagavad Gita*, published later under the title *Anasaktiyoga*, on which he had been working for some time. The volume also records the progress of yet another experiment in food which Gandhiji had commenced during the Andhra tour. During July-August, he studied in depth the Ahmedabad textile workers' case for a living wage which had been referred to him and Sheth Mangaldas Girdhardas as members of a permanent board of arbitrators, and drew up a carefully documented statement in support of the case for submission to an umpire (pp. 359-63). In early September, Gandhiji resumed travelling and left for a khadi propaganda tour of the U.P.

The volume begins with an assessment of the work of the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee. Gandhiji paid a compliment to the "enthusiastic and dutiful Secretary" of the Committee, Jairamdas Doulatram, but complained of lack of sincerity on the part of the leaders in regard to the khadi programme. He emphasized the imperative necessity of increasing khadi production for the success of the boycott and suggested ways and means of doing so. One cause of public apathy to the khadi programme was the fact that "the intellectual wing of the Congress has weakened with the widening of its base. . . . Students of European economics, shaped according to the Government's model, could not appreciate the organization's rural bias . . . could not make the necessary sacrifices and therefore left it" (p. 257). Another cause of the apathy was the total want of faith on the people's part in their ability to do anything and their acceptance of slavery as "our natural condition". "This is a most debasing state for anyone to be in," he commented (p. 64).

Condemning the police search of the house of Ramananda Chatterjee, of the *Modern Review*, Gandhiji charged the Government with following a policy of "studied humiliation" of the whole people. "The tallest among us must be occasionally bent, lest we forget ourselves. Hence this exhibition of the red claw" (p. 19).

There were frequent prosecutions for sedition under Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code and Gandhiji suggested a strong public agitation for the repeal of the Section (p. 195), adding, however, that "the force required really to repeal that Section is the force required for the attainment of swaraj". But he had "a suspicion that many of us want swaraj as a gift instead of earning it by the sweat of our brows" (p. 196). To an impatient critic of his khadi programme, Gandhiji replied: "You cannot get swaraj by mere speeches, shows, processions, etc. What is needed is solid, steady, constructive work; what the youth craves for and is fed on is only the former" (p. 276). Replying to the correspondent's suggestion that youthful leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose be told to raise a national volunteer force and Vallabhbhai to organize labour and peasantry to rise, Gandhiji stressed the inter-dependence of the leaders and the led. Vallabhbhai needed a Bardoli to make good his leadership. "How many Bardolis are there ready in the country today?" (p. 276), he asked.

In view of the impending struggle, a large majority in the Congress desired that Gandhiji should accept the presidentship of the organization for the coming year. But he declined to shoulder the responsibility, saying: "I know too that I am not keeping pace with the march of events. There is therefore a hiatus between the rising generation and me. . . . I know that I must take a back seat and allow the surging wave to pass over me. . . . Older men have had their innings. The battle of the future has to be fought by younger men and women. And it is but meet that they are led by one of themselves" (p. 240). Recommending Jawaharlal Nehru for the honour, he said: ". . . his being in the chair is as good as my being in it. We may have intellectual differences but our hearts are one. And with all his youthful impetuosities, his sense of stern discipline and loyalty make him an inestimable comrade in whom one can put the most implicit faith" (p. 241).

Gandhiji admitted to being "a crank, faddist and mad man" in regard to his dietetic experiments (p. 34), but pleaded, in a letter to G. D. Birla, that such experiments were an integral part of his life and were essential for his mental peace (p. 13). "As a searcher for Truth I deem it necessary to find the perfect food for a man to keep body, mind and soul in a sound condition" (p. 307). Though he found "after prolonged experiment and observation that there is no fixed dietetic rule for all constitutions" (p. 263), he enthusiastically shared with his readers and correspondents the details and results of his experiments and

offered them advice on the basis of his experiences (pp. 34-6, 59, 196-9, 210, 214 & 263-5). His latest experiment, in uncooked food, was a failure and had to be terminated in the middle of August but he hoped to revert to it later with greater caution (p. 307).

In Almora, Gandhiji drank in the beauty of the Himalayas with a poet's delight. He called them "this king of seers" (p. 72) and wrote about the "hills clad with greenery, as though, feeling shy, they had covered their bodies with it" (p. 79). But the thought of the country's plight weighed so heavily on his heart that he could not permit himself the "luxury" of enjoying such beauty without some excuse of work in Almora (pp. 79 & 148). Gandhiji fancied himself hearing Sankaracharya, who had propounded the theory of *maya*, say: "This is indeed a marvellous sight, but all this is an illusion created by God. The Himalayas do not really exist, I do not exist and you do not exist. Brahman alone is real." "The true Himalayas," Gandhiji concluded, "exist within our hearts. True pilgrimage. . . consists in taking shelter in that cave and having *darshan* of Siva there" (p. 184).

Writing in *Hindi Navajivan* on "Reason *v.* Faith", Gandhiji explained that whatever is "amenable to rational inquiry" cannot be the subject of faith. "In every matter," he added, "faith must be supported by empirical knowledge. For ultimately experience is the basis of faith and everyone who has faith must at some time pass through experience" (pp. 435-6). We should, he said in another context, "subject even a "mahatma's" word to the test by means of our intellect and if it does not stand the test we should discard it" (p. 55). He wanted to be saved from the "horror of touching-the-feet devotion" (p. 351), and was pained by Mirabehn's hankering after his company, which he diagnosed as a disease of "idolatry" (p. 78).

Gandhiji's intense dislike of some aspects of modern civilization is reflected in this entertaining description of the contents of newspapers: ". . . the progress of motion pictures, of the progress made in aviation, stories of murders, facts describing the various revolutions that are going on in the world, dirty descriptions of dirty proceedings of law-suits, news regarding horse races, the stock exchange and motor-car accidents" (p. 187). Speaking from long personal experience Gandhiji confessed his strong faith in the practice of taking vows: "A vow imparts stability, ballast and firmness to one's character" (p. 272).

The volume carries the *Anasaktiyoga* (the Yoga of Non-attach-

ment), with comments on selected verses and with a lucid and reasoned preface expounding his interpretation of the *Gita's* teaching. An English rendering by Mahadev Desai of the verses and of Gandhiji's comments on them, with a scholarly introduction entitled "My Submission" and additional notes on the verses, was published in 1946 under the title *The Gospel of Selfless Action or The Gita according to Gandhi.* The preface in the original Gujarati was rendered into English by Gandhiji himself in Yeravda jail in instalments of one or more paragraphs daily and was published in *Young India* of 6-8-1931. The manuscript of this English rendering, in Gandhiji's own hand, is available, and variations between it and the translation as edited for *Young India* (which is reproduced in this volume) are indicated in the footnotes. Like the English version of *Hind Swaraj* (Vol. X), this translation of the preface in *Anasaktiyoga* provides a valuable illustration of Gandhiji's method of translating his own Gujarati.

Disclaiming all pretension to scholarship and ignoring the subtleties of metaphysical doctrine, Gandhiji in the preface and in his notes concentrated on bringing out the fundamental ethical teaching of the *Gita* for the benefit of the lay reader, of women, Vaishyas and Shudras "who have little or no literary equipment, who have neither the time nor the desire to read the *Gita* in the original and yet who stand in need of its support" (p. 92). His only qualification for this task was, he said, "an endeavour to enforce the meaning in my own conduct for an unbroken period of 40 years" (p. 92). On the basis of that experience, Gandhiji made bold to offer an interpretation of the *Gita*'s teaching which departed from the traditional views of it in important respects. His approach to the subject illustrates his attitude to all scriptures. He claimed the freedom to interpret the revealed word in the light of a disciplined and purified conscience. "A poet's meaning," he says, "is limitless. Like man, the meaning of great writings suffers evolution" (p. 99). By extending the meanings of words like *yajna* and *sannyasa*, the author of the *Gita* "has taught us to imitate him" (p. 100). It was this attempt to interpret the scriptures in consonance with modern ethical insights that enabled Gandhiji to exemplify in his life the living truth behind the old religious formulas. In *Anasaktiyoga*, Gandhiji approached the *Gita* in this spirit and attempted a systematic exposition of a personal and creative interpretation of its teaching.

The traditional view of the *Gita* doctrine of *karmayoga*, spiritually oriented action, was bound up with the supposedly historical context of the teaching. As an exhortation to Arjuna to overcome

his attachment masquerading as compassion and to do his dharma as a Kshatriya, leaving the result of the fighting in God's hands, the *Gita* was believed to enjoin disinterested performance of caste functions and duties, including the Kshatriya's duty of righteous war. In modern times the emphasis on caste duties was dropped and the meaning of *niyata karma*, the allotted duty (III. 18)—the phrase has also been interpreted to mean self-controlled action—was enlarged to embrace public and national service, and the doctrine of disinterested work so interpreted inspired a host of patriots, led by Shri Aurobindo and Bal Gangadhar Tilak, in the struggle for the emancipation and regeneration of the Motherland.

Gandhiji had discovered the *Gita via* the medium of a rather free English translation (Edwin Arnold's *The Song Celestial*), and he naturally read it in the light of the moral and religious ideas which were fermenting in his mind while he was studying for the Bar in England. He instantaneously saw in the work a confirmation of his own as yet vague intuitions (Vol. XXXIX, pp. 60-2), and closer study of the work, after 1903, deepened those intuitions and integrated his developing political, humanitarian and ethical concerns by providing them with a spiritual foundation. Henceforward the *Gita* became for him "a spiritual reference book" (p. 91).

Gandhiji disengaged the *Gita's* teaching from its historical context by interpreting the Mahabharata battle anagogically, as describing, under the guise of physical warfare, "the duel that perpetually went on in the hearts of mankind" (p. 93). "Krishna of the *Gita*," he says, "is perfection and right knowledge personified; but the picture is imaginary" (p. 94). The primary aim of the work, thus, is not to rouse a warrior to physical battle in a just cause, but to teach an aspirant to found all his activities in spiritual consciousness and to show him the means of doing so. This means consisted in doing one's duty in the spirit of *yajna*, sacrifice, dedicating the fruits of the sacrifice to the Lord seated in the hearts of all beings. Such endeavour ruled out, according to Gandhiji, violence and untruth in any form and for any cause (p. 98). The characteristics of the *sthitaprajna*, the man whose intellect is firmly anchored in the spiritual centre of his being, described in Chapter II of the *Gita*, do not have, Gandhiji argued, the remotest connection with the specific duties of a warrior (p. 93). And the characteristics of the *bhakta*, the man whose heart abides for ever in loving devotion to God, described later in Chapter XII, are no different from those of the *sthitaprajna*.

Similarly, Gandhiji enlarged the traditional meaning of the two key terms, *yajna* and *swadharma*, in the *Gita* teaching.

Gandhiji interpreted *yajna* to mean, not a mere ritual offering, but "acts of selfless service dedicated to God" (p. 106). *Swadharma* meant, according to him, not merely caste functions and duties, but the duty of service in whatever occupation one followed (p. 108). All action not performed in this spirit was, according to the *Gita*, a cause of bondage, and since no human being could escape the necessity of action in obedience to the laws of universal Nature to which he is subject, the *Gita* enjoins disinterested performance of *yajna*, the worshipful offering of all actions to the Lord, as the only means of deliverance (III. 5 & 9 and IV. 27). This, according to Gandhiji, was the core of the *Gita's* teaching.

The *Gita* is thus not a mere exhortation to spiritual endeavour or a code of morals and ethics; it is a practical guide to the most effective way of attaining self-realization, and in this lay its excellence (p. 94). Gandhiji offers a simple and universal remedy for the ills of life. "That matchless remedy is renunciation of the fruits of action. This is the centre round which the *Gita* is woven" (pp. 94-5). Such renunciation is possible only to a true *bhakta* (p. 95), and Gandhiji exemplified its efficacy by his life-long *sadhana* of public service, sustained in failure and success by his faith in Ramanama as a potent form of prayer. "Ramanama is a matter of faith not of the intellect. . . . Whether or not one gets peace from it, whether one feels happy or unhappy, one ought to keep up the repetition in the faith that Ramanama alone is real" (p. 246).

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji, have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a date-line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the January 1969 edition.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi; M.M.U. stands for Mobile Microfilm Unit reels.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

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2 LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI (10-9-1929) 568

[library stamp]

1. PACE OF BOYCOTT

The Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee has been conducting its work in accordance with its regulations. Since I am its President, I certainly cannot take credit for its regularity. All the credit for it goes to its enthusiastic and dutiful Secretary. Ever since he accepted that office, Shri Jairamdas[1] has forgotten all other things. No one in the world has been able to do justice to any secretaryship without such concentration. If this Committee receives full assistance, it will experience no difficulty and take no time to make the boycott an established fact, because the main thing to do in this matter is to organize. If the Congress principle becomes a living thing and workers are actuated by true faith, there is no reason at all to doubt that the people are ready for boycott. It is necessary to explain their duty to them and to prove to them that even prominent persons have given up foreign cloth and begun to wear khadi exclusively. But the thing we lack is sincerity among these prominent people themselves. Some of them pretend to wear khadi, some wear it only on occasions, etc., and some others flatly refuse to wear it and yet remain in the Congress. Misusing their high positions they do not abide by any rules and hence there is not as much impact on the people as there should be. The mass of people are not foolish but intelligent. They understand some things by a mere hint. This is one of the reasons why the pace of khadi, that is, of boycott, is slow.

But whether we call the pace slow or fast, we can see from the two months' report which the Boycott Committee has published that it is certainly beginning to have its impact on England at any rate. Mr. Roberts, President of the Cloth Dealers' Association of Delhi, has said in his speech that even Manchester has begun to feel acutely the effect of the boycott. He says that almost a third of the cotton-textile mills in England have closed down. But since our enthusiasm lasts a short while and cools off, such impact does not last for ever. In order that it should do so, we should be honest and make constant endeavours. The pace has increased so much at present that many fear that khadi will be in short supply. But if we have digested the *mantra* of khadi, there is no reason why supplies of khadi should run out. If anyone

[1] Jairamdas Doulatram

were to complain that there was a shortage of *rotlis* in spite of the availability of wheat flour and be struck with fear, there would be no justification for that fear; in like manner there will be no fear of a shortage of khadi as long as there is cotton in India. If we now entertain such fear, it is because we have forgotten the power of khadi and have even lost our faith in it. It is as easy to spin yarn and weave khadi as it is to bake *rotlis* in every home. Khadi depends on supplies of yarn. Even now, we come across weavers almost anywhere. But we do not get male or female spinners so easily.

There are three ways of producing hand-spun yarn: the first is the way of self-reliance, the second is doing it for wages and the third is that of sacrificial spinning. The first can be the most extensive and it should be considered the easiest. It is that the agriculturists should themselves spin yarn for their requirements of cloth and get it woven, whereby khadi so made will be cheaper for them than mill-cloth. And in this way one can save oneself the trouble of finding buyers for one's khadi. City-dwellers and those who are not agriculturists should get ready-made khadi. The second way is for them, i.e., to pay and get yarn spun. This method is most prevalent today because the khadi movement was started and was possible only that way. It started with the middle classes, the educated class of people. They were not in a position to produce khadi on their own and wear it. In India there is one class tormented by hunger, which will be able to ward off its misery if it gets a few pice a day. Thus yarn began to be spun for wages. There is a great advantage in this too. That is, it has increased the organizing capacity of the middle classes, has given rise to a great agency of service, has brought into existence a class of people selling khadi for the benefit of others and has opened up a major new source of honourable income for the middle classes. This is no ordinary gain. The third way is to produce yarn by sacrificial spinning. This has been going on very slowly on account of lack of proper environment. If an atmosphere of sacrifice can be created, crores of yards of yarn can be produced by this method. In municipal schools where thousands of boys and girls study, yarn can be produced every day by means of the *takli* with the greatest ease. That will involve very little expenditure and the work can become enduring. The yarn produced can be immediately sent to a weaver and got woven, and thereby confidence can be created in the people. This work can be easily organized. Thus, if all the three ways are fully used, there will not be the slightest difficulty in India produ-

cing as much yarn as is required, that is to say, to produce khadi in the quantity needed.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-6-1929

2. COMMITTEE FOR REMOVAL OF UNTOUCHABILITY

The Congress Working Committe has set up a separate committee for the removal of untouchability, of which Bharat Bhushan Pandit Malaviya is the President. Its Secretary is Shri Jamnalalji. Its office is at 395, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. The main objects of the committee are:

1. to get public temples thrown open to the *Antyajas*;
2. to secure for the *Antyajas* the use of public wells;
3. removal of the restrictions which face *Antyaja* children in public schools;
4. to improve their condition in respect of cleanliness; and
5. to induce them to give up their habit of eating carrion and taking liquor.

The committee expects every Hindu to help in educating public opinion for this work. Those who are willing to assist in this task should correspond with Shri Jamnalalji at the above address.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-6-1929

3. GUJARAT'S CONTRIBUTION

The All-India Congress Committee has decided that by the end of August every province should enrol 1¼ per cent of its population, excluding that of the Princely States and the Excluded Areas, and that at least half the number of districts and half the number of taluks in them and ten villages in each taluk should be covered. This proportion is certainly not too high. If a province cannot enlist even this percentage, it ought not to have the right to send a representative to the Congress.

If the Congress is at all ready to carry out the constructive work decided upon by itself and if it cannot influence one man in every four hundred, it will have no value. The programme of constructive work is such that everyone can take part in it. It is not like that of the legislature in which only a few people whose number can be counted on one's fingers can participate. If we

can find volunteers, we can get work from crores of people. Khadi work is such that the boycott cannot at all be an accomplished fact without the enthusiasm and help of crores of people. The removal of untouchability means the consent of 23 crore Hindus. Prohibition implies the effect of true self-purification on lakhs of Hindus and Muslims. These things can be done only if the Congress organization is alive, alert and pervasive. And if the Congress cannot even do this work, the job which we hope to accomplish by January 1 of the coming year will never get done. Hence I hope that even in this work, Gujarat will, as in the past, make a bigger contribution than its share, and well before the end of August. And if we want to do that, we must take a map of Gujarat and decide how many men must join the Congress from every part, that is, from every taluk, and the work must then be distributed accordingly.

We easily recall, while considering this subject, that the Congress constitution has in it the stipulation regarding yarn. A number of people wish to get exemption from that clause in many ways. I presume that the workers of Gujarat do not have such persons in their midst. But, perchance, if there is any such, I must state for his benefit that the condition is not applicable at the time of enrolling himself in the Congress. He who accepts the Congress objectives and gives four annas or 2,000 yards of yarn can compel a worker to register his name in the Congress office. The obligation to wear khadi applies to a man who wishes to exercise his voting right. It is necessary to understand this distinction. It is also meaningful. A man joining the Congress may be a lover of foreign cloth and even revile khadi, but we hope that, after coming into contact with us, after being served by us and experiencing our love, his fascination for foreign cloth will disappear and he will begin to use khadi. Perhaps, he may be moved to wear khadi if only out of a desire to earn the franchise. And despite all this, if he will not wear khadi, he will forfeit his voting right at least for that time. This is how the Congress had understood the utility and necessity of khadi. I have very often written that it is our duty to remove the condition regarding khadi if a number of people hold that that restriction retards the work of the Congress and that it must be done away with. But I have no doubt whatever in my mind that, as long as that condition stands, it must be implemented honestly.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-6-1929

4. *KARACHI KHADI BHANDAR*

I had paid a visit to the Bhandar when I was in Karachi, but I was not able to pay much attention to it. Moreover, as I had heard complaints about its high prices, I had kept silent on that subject. The manager of the Bhandar, Bhai Dayaram Topandas, complained against my silence. I gave him the reason therefor. Thereupon, he produced before me proofs of the fairness of his transactions, which included testimonials from Sadhu Vaswani[1], Acharya Gidwani[2] and others. Bhai Chandrashankar Buch, after a special investigation, writes:[3]

In addition, Bhai Dayaram Topandas had asked that the Charkha Sangha audit and publish the Bhandar accounts at its own expense and had stated that, if anyone else were ready to undertake to run it in a better manner, he was willing to hand it over to him. There is no doubt left in my mind about the rates and transactions. It is true that there is no loss in that shop; this is not a shortcoming but a merit; it suggests that he knows how to run the Bhandar. No one who has run a khadi bhandar with circumspection has suffered a loss. There may not be much profit in it, but there is no reason why there should be a loss.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-6-1929

5. *IDEAL PRIMARY SCHOOL FOR CHILDREN*

The subject of child education, which ought to be the simplest, appears to have become difficult or to have been made so. Experience teaches us that, whether we wish it or not, children do receive some education good or bad. To many readers this sentence may sound strange, but if we consider whom we can call

[1] T. L. Vaswani

[2] A. T. Gidwani

[3] The letter is not translated here. Buch had stated that a nominal marginal profit was added to the selling price and the general expenditure was quite reasonable. Four persons worked in the store and each one drew about Rs. 25 a month. He had suggested that, if only two managed the work, each of them could live respectably on Rs. 50 a month, the other two seeking jobs elsewhere.

a child, what education means and who can impart child education, perhaps we shall find nothing novel in the above sentence. A child means a boy or girl under the age of ten or anyone who appears to be of that age.

Education does not mean a knowledge of the alphabet. This type of knowledge is only a means to education. Education implies a child's learning how to put his mind and all his senses to good use. That is to say, he really learns how to use his hands, feet and other organs of action and his nose, ear and other organs of sense. A child who has acquired the knowledge that he should not use his hands for stealing or for killing flies nor for beating up his companions or younger brothers and sisters has already begun his education. He has started it, we can say, when he understands the necessity of keeping his body, his teeth, tongue, ears, head, nails, etc., clean and keeps them clean. That child has made good progress in education who does not indulge in mischief while eating and drinking, eats and drinks alone or in society in a proper manner, sits properly and chooses pure foodstuffs knowing the difference between pure and impure foodstuffs, does not eat like a glutton, does not clamour for whatever he sees and remains calm even if he does not get what he wants. Even that child has advanced on the road to education whose pronunciation is correct, who can recount to us the history and geography of the country surrounding him without knowing those terms and who understands what his country means. That child has made very good progress in his education who can understand the difference between truth and untruth, worth and worthlessness and chooses the good and the true, while rejecting the bad and the untrue. There is no need now to dilate on this point. The reader can supply other attributes himself. Only one thing needs to be made clear. In all this one sees no need of a knowledge of the alphabet or of any script. To engage children in learning the script is tantamount to putting a burden on their mind and other organs and is like putting their eyes and hands to bad use. A child who has received true education easily picks up a knowledge of the alphabet at the appropriate time and in an interesting way. Today knowledge becomes a sort of burden to children, their best time for development is spent uselessly, and in the end, instead of writing a beautiful hand and reading in a beautiful way, their handwriting is like the housefly's legs, and they read mostly what should not be read and even what they do read, they read wrongly. To call this education is blasphemy, or sacrilege. Before a child receives a knowledge of the

alphabet it should have received primary education. If this is done, one can be spared in this poor land the expenditure on many series of readers and primers and a lot of nonsense. If there must be a primer, it ought to be only for the teachers, and never for the children described by me. If we are not being carried away in the prevailing current, this matter ought to appear as clear as a lamp.

A child can receive the education outlined above even in the home and that too from the mother herself. Hence children receive elementary education from their mothers. If our homes are broken up and divided today, if the parents have forgotten their duty to their children, the children should, as far as possible, be educated under conditions providing a family-like environment. Only a mother can discharge this duty; hence child education should be placed in chárge of women alone. A man has not generally till now been able to show the love and patience that a woman can. If all of this is true, the moment we tackle the question of child education, that of the education of women naturally stares us in the face. And until we have mothers capable of imparting education to children, I have no hesitation in saying that children will remain without education despite their attending hundreds of schools.

Now I shall give a sketch of child education. Let us suppose that five children have been placed in charge of a woman in the role of a mother. These children do not know how to talk or walk and they have running noses, they clean their nasal mucus with their hands and wipe it on their legs or their clothes. There is rheum in their eyes, there is wax in their ears and dirt in their nails. Even when asked to sit down properly they sit awkwardly, spreading out their legs, saliva drips when they speak, they say '*hun*' for '*shun*'[1] and use the first person plural for the first person singular. They have no idea of east, west, north and south. They are wearing soiled clothes, their private parts are exposed, they toy with them and, if asked not to do so, they do it all the more. If their clothes have pockets, these are filled with some dirty sweets, which they eat from time to time, dropping some of these on the floor and making their sticky hands stickier. Their caps have become jet-black at the border and a bad odour issues from them. Only if motherly feelings spring up in the woman who looks after these five children can she teach them. The first lesson will certainly be to put them in good shape. The mother will give

[1] Meaning 'what'

them a bath lovingly, she will do nothing but crack jokes with them for several days and in many ways, just as mothers have done till this day, just as Kausalya did with little Rama; she will bind them in the bonds of her love and train them to dance to her tune. Until the mother succeeds in this, just as a cow distractedly runs here and there for her lost calf, she will become anxious about those five children. She will not rest so long as the children have not learnt to be normally clean, their teeth, ears, hands and feet have not become clean, their stinking clothes have not been changed, and '*hun*' has not become '*shun*'. After gaining this much control over them, the mother will teach the children the first lesson of Ramanama. Some will call Him Rama, some will call Him Rahman, but it is all the same. Economics will surely come after religion. And so the mother will now start teaching them arithmetic. She will teach the children the multiplication tables and addition and subtraction orally. Children ought to know about the place where they reside; hence she will point out to them the adjoining rivers and channels, hillocks and buildings and while doing so give them an idea of the directions. And she will add to her own knowledge for the sake of the children. In this concept, history and geography can never be separate subjects. Knowledge of both can be imparted in the form of stories only. The mother cannot be satisfied with this much. A Hindu mother lets her children hear the sound of Sanskrit from their childhood and therefore makes them learn by rote verses in praise of God and trains the children in correct pronunciation. A patriotic mother will surely give them a knowledge of Hindi. Hence she will talk to children in Hindi, read to them from Hindi books and turn them bilingual. She will not at this stage impart to them knowledge of writing, but will surely place a brush in their hands. She will make them draw geometrical figures, straight lines, circles, etc. A mother will not at all concede that the children who do not draw a flower or a jug or a triangle have received education. And she will not deprive children of music. She will not tolerate it if the children do not sing in chorus and in a sweet voice national songs, devotional songs, etc. She will teach them to sing in rhythm. If she is a good teacher, she places a one-stringed instrument in their hands, gives them cymbals and teaches them a dance with sticks in which both boys and girls join. In order to develop their bodies, she makes them do physical exercise, makes them run and jump. And because the spirit of service is to be inculcated in them and they are to be taught some craft too, she would teach them to pick cotton pods and break them open, to gin and card cotton and to spin it and

the children would playfully spin at least for half an hour every day.

Most of the books we come across nowadays are useless for this curriculum. Her love will provide the books for every mother, because there will be different books of history and geography in every village and sums in arithmetic are of course to be set anew. A dedicated mother will prepare herself every day and will make up new stories and new sums in her notebook and teach them to the children.

It should not be necessary to prolong this curriculum. A quarterly course of studies can be drawn up from it, because the children have been brought up in different environments. Hence we can never have a uniform curriculum. We can draw up courses for them from time to time as and when the children come to us. Sometimes children come to us having learnt wrong things; we have to make them unlearn these. If a six-seven-year-old child is writing an indifferent hand or is in the habit of reading *ma bhu pa*[1], we have to make him forget it. Until the false notion that the child will gain knowledge through reading is removed from his mind, he cannot make headway. It can easily be conceived that even he who has not mastered a knowledge of the alphabet throughout his life may become learned.

I have made no use in this article of the word 'teacher'. A teacher is a mother. She who cannot take the place of a mother can never become a teacher. A child should not feel that it is receiving education. The child whose mother's eyes follow it everywhere is receiving education all the twenty-four hours. A child who sits six hours in a school may not be receiving any education at all. In this topsyturvy life, perhaps we may not find women-teachers. It may well be that child education is practicable at present only through men-teachers. Then the men-teachers will have to acquire the noble status of a mother and ultimately the mothers will have to get ready for this job. But if my concept is right, any mother if she has love in her heart can become fit with a little assistance. And while preparing herself she will prepare the children as well.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-6-1929

[1] For "Mother, give me water to drink."

6. GOSEVA SANGHA

A meeting of the Goseva Sangha was held in the Udyoga Mandir on May 28, and the following constitution[1] was approved. It is desirable that many should join this Sevak Sangha. It is at the same time necessary to sound this warning that one cannot become a worker merely by tendering money, yarn or leather by way of subscription. Among the duties of a *sevak* which have been set down, some are compulsory and some, though necessary, have been included merely as voluntary. Only those who carry out the compulsory duties and try to observe the voluntary ones can join as members. For those who are fired by a desire to serve the cow, the obligations are not difficult to carry out. What should they do who are at present unable to carry out the compulsory duties, but are keenly desirous of maintaining a close connection with the Sangha? This question had been raised at the meeting of the Sangha. For that purpose, a class of helpers has been provided. I hope, however, that those who cannot become helpers will send donation as in the past and continue doing so.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 2-6-1929

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.

[library stamp]

7. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 2, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I have your letter. Whenever I get back to the Ashram I have less time to answer letters. Surely, with efforts, you will get over your temper. I see that you are vigilant. I was pleased when I went over your life sketch. May God grant you long life and health and strengthen your devotion to service. It will always benefit you if occasionally you give up bread or any other item that you find heavy.

I got your letter today after I had dictated this. I see there is a constant ebb and flow in your health. If you come over in July we can try yet further treatment.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6785

8. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 2, 1929

CHI. JAMNALAL,

About Rukhi[1], I have spoken to Santok[2]. According to the Gujarati calendar the year ends with *Diwali.* If therefore the marriage is to take place this year it has to be in the month of *Ashadh* because, as Santok says, there are no marriage-days after this. It would be too early to have the marriage in *Ashadh.* Again Santok is so insistent on Banarasi learning Gujarati even before the marriage that she says the marriage should be fixed for the coming *Jeth* if marriage-days are available in the next year. It is thus a matter of one year. Indeed Santok has also the desire that in the mean while Rukhi can further continue her studies; and it is a welcome desire. So, I think, now we should leave the matter as it is. I am trying to ascertain whether or not

[1] Daughter of Maganlal Gandhi
[2] Wife of Maganlal Gandhi

there are marriage-days in the coming year. I think we need not hold up other similar alliances. Let us proceed on the belief that all betrothals will surely be followed by a marriage, and any alliance that we would now settle may perhaps require to be immediately followed by solemnization. But then you know more about this. Please make the right arrangements for the work regarding untouchability, and send me some news about it regularly every week if possible. On enquiries I learn today that there are marriage-days in the coming year.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9046

9. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

UDYOGA MANDIR, SABARMATI,
June 2, 1929

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter. It has given me much comfort because the feeling had been weighing on me that my advising you to keep D.[1] with you was perhaps a mistake. There can be no two opinions that he had been treated very harshly by the girl's relatives. I have received a letter regarding this which I enclose for your perusal. . . had hinted at it. . . . writes that . . .'s death was caused by heart failure. Is it correct?

I understand about *Forward*. There will always be attacks on public figures but we have to weigh things in the scales of justice. Subhas's courage is laudable.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C. W. 6171. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

10. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

June 3, 1929

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I have your letter. It is true I have become weak. But no harm to the body is perceptible. I am conducting the experi-

[1] The name is omitted.

ment[1] with caution. You should not be anxious. Such experiments are an integral part of my life; they are essential for my mental peace and self-realization. I try to keep alive within the limits I have specified for myself. But I also believe that life and death are not in our hands. I am happy to know your ideas about Keshu[2]. His father took great pains over him and we all hope to get much service from him. I do not wish to restrict his freedom in any way. His being with you frees me from anxiety.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C. W. 6172. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

11. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

June 5, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I am glad you will join me during the tour. Copies of the reports make sad reading. I suggest your sending copies to the respective committees with your observations and suggestions. The report about Bihar surprises me. But that shows the extent of our fall.

Hope Kamala and Krishna are well.

BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

12. LETTER TO TARA MODI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 5, 1929

CHI. TARA,

I have your letter. Ramniklal had talked to me about you. I am glad that you stay at Vedchhi, get plenty of experience and are learning a lot. It is a good thing that you should learn to live in the country and get to know how to be useful to the villages and that the two of you can live apart, whenever necessary, and remain content. As for staying here, you can by all means come here whenever you want to. Ramniklal is satisfied at

[1] On dietetics; *vide* pp. 34-6.
[2] Son of Maganlal Gandhi

heart and his decision to live here has brought him great peace. I would have endured separation with both of you but never would I have been able to get used to it. In spite of all this, I would certainly wish you to stay where you are happy at heart. And of course you would have my blessings in whatever you do. Write to me from time to time. You must have got the news that Chhaganlal and Kashi[1] have come over here.

Ramniklal must have written to you about my experiment. I hope you know also the changes about the Bal Mandir. Read carefully the article[2] on this subject appearing in *Navajivan*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4145

13. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
June 5, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I got your letter after I had written to you. It seems your weight has again returned to normal. Such increase and decrease will always persist. I shall start for Almora on the 11th. My address during the tour of that area will be: Prem Vidyalaya[3], Ranikhet. Write to me to this address whenever you want to.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6786

14. CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT

The following is the consolidated statement I promised to publish of the Andhra Desha collections. It has been prepared by Sjt. Narayanamurti as auditor of the A.I.S.A.[4] and checked by Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya:

[1] Wife of Chhaganlal Gandhi

[2] *Vide* pp. 5-9.

[3] Started in 1921 by Prem Vidyalaya Society to impart, besides the three R's, manual training such as spinning, weaving, carpet-making, carpentry, etc., board and instruction being free

[4] All-India Spinners' Association

Names of Districts	Number of villages visited	Realizations Khadi Fund: Cash	Realizations Khadi Fund: Value of jewels realized up to 31-5-'29	Total Khadi Fund including value of jewels sold	Lalaji Fund	Total cash collections up to 31-5-'29	Estimated value of jewels remaining unsold	Expenses incurred as per bills received
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a.p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1 West Krishna	27	22,189-12-1	970- 2-9	23,159-14-10	277-0-0	23,436-14-10	—	898- 7-6
2 East Krishna	52	27,341- 1-3	914-14-3	28,255-15-6	59-0-0 50-0-0 Bardoli Fund	28,364-15-6	—	1,684-10-0
3 Guntur	52	45,253- 9-5½	2,371- 0-0	47,624- 9-5½	184-0-0	47,808- 9-5½	—	1,507- 3-0
4 West Godavari	48	39,436- 8-10	3,300- 0-0	42,736- 8-10	591-0-3	43,327- 9-1	—	512- 8-0
5 Vizagapatam	16	13,445-14-5	—	13,445-14-5	—	13,445-14-5	700-0-0	not yet received
6 East Godavari	50	43,520-10-4½	—	43,520-10-4½	1,063-1-0	44,583-11-4½	2,500-0-0	994-13-6
7 Nellore	31	27,216-13-4	—	27,216-13-4	712-0-0	27,928-13-4	200-0-0	not yet received
8 Chittoor	10	7,536-13-0	—	7,536-13- 0	—	7,536-13-0	—	,,
9 Cuddappah	8	4,579- 4-10	—	4,579- 4-10	—	4,579- 4-10	—	—
10 Anantapur	8	5,836-10-2	—	5,836-10-2	—	5,836-10-2	—	—
11 Kurnool	13	5,813- 8-11	—	5,813- 8-11	—	5,813- 8-11	100-0-0	,,
12 Bellary	2	1,591- 2-9	—	1,591- 2-9	—	1,591- 2-9	—	—
13 Hyderabad	2	10,013- 8-10	—	10,013- 8-10	—	10,013- 8-10	50-0-0	—
14 Cost of cloth sold		132- 1-9	—	132- 1-9	—	132- 1-9	—	—
Total:	319	2,53,907- 8-0	7,556- 1-0	2,61,463- 9-0	2,936-1-3	2,64,399-10-3	3,550-0-0	5,597-10-0

I have never before had the opportunity or the inclination to supervise the conduct and expenses of tours during the past eight years as I had of this eventful Andhra tour. I had noticed before too much laxity about expenses and too much lavishness in ordering things. Much of it was done out of personal affection. But even that affection became a questionable thing when the expenditure was deducted from purses collected in the name of *Daridranarayana.* In Andhra Desha therefore I took the law, as far as possible, in my own hands and insisted upon no deduction being made from cash collected without vouchers being produced and accepted by me. I further insisted upon all the railway expenses of my party being paid by me so that they might not become a charge upon the purses. I also insisted that all feeding expenses of my party should be paid by me when they were not paid by the local host. Thus the certified expenses include generally only motor hire, petrol, railway travelling of volunteers and the like. These expenses do not amount to more than five per cent of the collections. To have brought about a great awakening in 319 villages was worth the expense incurred. Having said as much in defence of the expense, I must confess that even though the sums collected may be large, we cannot afford to fly from place to place and pay high motor charges. Whilst the tour was on, I published the full details[1] of one bill which the reader should recall if he will understand the full significance of my statement. There was even there considerable room for improvement and economy. It may seem ungracious to write thus of a tour which has been the most economic of all I have known. But it would be wrong to be easily satisfied or be satisfied with anything but the highest. Easy satisfaction means arrested progress leading to stagnation and finally retrogression. Speed of descent is in the inverse ratio to the snail-like speed of ascent. Workers therefore will take note that whilst Andhra expenses are some guide for the future, they may not be imitated without very considerable modification. That will come automatically when every worker realizes that he is to use national funds as jealously and as economically as a careful householder would use his own. Almora, beware!

Young India, 6-6-1929

[1] *Vide* Vol. XL, p. 318.

15. GOSEVA SANGHA

The following is a translation of the constitution[1] adopted by the Standing Committee of Goseva Sangha that met on 28th and 29th ultimo at the Udyoga Mandir, Sabarmati. I hope the reader will not be disturbed over what may appear to him to be a novelty in constitution-making in which members have no rights and strange duties are expected of them. The members of the Standing Committee have come to the conclusion that the very difficult work of serving the cow is not possible without a large number of men and women devoting themselves to it in a spirit purely of service combined with full desire and preparedness for learning the science of cow-preservation, nor need the reader be surprised over the alternative subscriptions in the shape of donating unslaughtered hide or self-spun yarn. It is any day easier to pay five rupees yearly than to find two hides of naturally dead cattle. The very act of procuring such hide by one's own effort and not through deputy involves a certain amount of trouble and the gaining of some knowledge about hides. This is a definite gain. And if the reader will but remember that the word cow is to be taken in the widest sense and includes all life that serves mankind and demands protection, the connection of self-spun yarn with the Goseva Sangha will become immediately obvious.

Young India, 6-6-1929

16. ATROCIOUS

Though house-searches, arrests without even reasonable ground or suspicion of innocent and respectable men, putting them in veils and handcuffs are in the air, I was wholly unprepared for the search of the offices of the well-known magazine, *The Modern Review*, much less the house of its equally well-known Editor, Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee. Therefore when I heard of the search I wired for particulars and Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee has sent me the following letter:[2]

> On the 24th instant when I returned from my office at about 11.30 a.m., my second son told me that a Bengali police officer had come to

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.

[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

> search my house in connection with Dr. J. T. Sunderland's *India in Bondage: Her Right to Freedom*. . . .
>
> . . . I entered the sitting-room, where I found a man in plain clothes seated in a chair. . . . The officer asked me whether I had any printed copies of *India in Bondage*, etc., any manuscripts thereof, and any correspondence with the author relating to it in the nature of any business agreement. Thereupon I gave him one printed copy of the book—there was no other copy in my house—and two typewritten copies of the Indian and American editions. I also gave him the original copy of the agreement with the author signed by Dr. Sunderland by which I had bound myself to give him 25 per cent of the face value of each copy of the book sold. I gave the man the covering letter also. . . . He then wrote out an inventory of the things taken, got it signed by two local search witnesses, gave me a carbon copy, and went away. The warrant he had with him was only for searching my house. He was throughout polite. . . .
>
> Another Bengali police officer had gone to my press and office. . . . His warrant was for searching the premises and arresting Mr. Sajanikanta Das . . . printer and publisher of the book. . . . the officer took away 42 copies of the second edition . . . one copy of the first edition, the manuscript from which the book was printed, and a few cash memos and other documents to show that copies of the book had been sold and sent by V.P.P. The printer and publisher was also arrested at my office and released on bail then and there on his signing a bond for Rs. 1,000. His trial for sedition will commence on June 4 at the Presidency Magistrate's Court. At my office also the police officer was polite.
>
> I have asked my office to send you by post a copy of the second edition of the book in order that you may be able to form your own opinion of it, if you can make time to do so.

Let us thank the police that they were courteous. It would have been monstrous, if they had been otherwise. But a search is a search even though it is courteous. Golden fetters are no less galling to a self-respecting man than iron ones. The sting lies in the fetters, not in the metal. The search itself was wholly unjustified. For Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee is not a nonentity of an editor. He is one of the foremost among journalists. He and his magazine enjoy an international reputation. *The Modern Review* is known for its sobriety and correctness of statement. It is one of the most cultured magazines commanding contributions from some of the most noted writers in India. Where was the occasion for the search? If Dr. J. T. Sunderland's book is seditious, let the publisher be prosecuted by all means, but the information the police required could have been obtained with

out any dramatic performance. But to the Government of the day a dramatic performance is the thing they want. The tallest among us must be occasionally bent, lest we forget ourselves. Hence this exhibition of the red claw. There used to be in the mutiny days a rehearsal of humiliations. This search of Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee and much that is going on at the present moment is an edition of those rehearsals. They will continue till we learn to resent and resist such wanton insults.

Of Dr. Sunderland's book, I am sorry, I know nothing. Before it was printed the author had sent me the manuscript for opinion. My preoccupations and continuous touring prevented my ever reading it. The manuscript is still lying with me. In due course the book was published. But I know that the worthy Doctor was anxious to have my opinion even after the publication of the volume. I could not make time for reading the book though I had hoped to cope with it during the Andhra tour. But what I could not do as a friend, I shall now have to do as editor. And this is possible for it will be part of the daily editorial routine. The point however is not whether the book is seditious. The point is that searches and arrests are wholly uncalled for where the purpose can be served without them, and that they are the order of the day in India only in order to overawe and humiliate a whole people. This studied humiliation is one of the chosen methods which the ruling race consider necessary in order that they—though less than one hundred thousand—may rule three hundred million people. It is a state of things we must strain every nerve to remedy. To command respect is the first step to swaraj.

Young India, 6-6-1929

17. *FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT*

Sjt. Jairamdas has addressed a general letter to every District Congress Committee as to what is expected of it in the matter of boycott. The following are the operating extracts from the letter:

> I send hereunder the full text of the new programme framed by the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee at its meeting on the 24th May. May I request you to place it before an emergency meeting of your executive and in view of the various items of the programme prepare your own line of action within your jurisdiction? There is no reason why the programme for enrolment of Congress members adopted by the All-India Congress Committee at its recent meeting at Bombay should in any way

interfere with the carrying out of this new boycott programme. On the contrary the enrolment programme will give you very great opportunities of carrying the message of the boycott of foreign cloth to the thousands whom you may have to approach for enrolment as Congress members. The message of the Congress including the boycott of foreign cloth has naturally to be explained to the people before they are asked to join the Congress. I hope you will be able to show a far better record of boycott work done in the next four months than you have been able to do during the last five months.

FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT RESOLUTION

(a) The Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee notes the response made by the people, in the course of the last three months, to the programme of boycott of foreign cloth laid down by the Working Committee, and urges all Congress Committees and other organizations co-operating in the boycott campaign to carry out that programme with even greater vigour during the remaining part of the year.

(b) The Committee suggests that in accordance with the above programme, organized efforts should be made to concentrate on:

1. organizing propaganda parties for touring outside large towns;
2. arranging house-to-house visits for converting people to the boycott of foreign cloth;
3. holding public meetings where house-to-house propaganda is not feasible;
4. hawking khadi as often during each week as is possible;
5. collecting sufficient funds to run small khadi depots wherever necessary;
6. organizing street propaganda and *nagar kirtans* on every Wednesday and Sunday in the week;
7. engaging in special boycott activity on the first Sunday of each month, that is, 2nd June, 7th July, 4th August, and 1st September;
8. arranging requisitions for special meetings of local bodies which have not so far considered the suggestions made by the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee for securing their co-operation in the boycott campaign;
9. posting weekly reports of foreign-cloth boycott work on each Monday; and
10. observing 2nd October 1929 (Gandhiji's birthday) as the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Day.

I showed last week[1] that the reorganization resolution not only did not interfere with the constructive programme but that

[1] *Vide* Vol. XL, pp. 428-9.

it actually helped it. There is no meaning in going to the people for merely asking them to join the Congress if we will not tell them what it means and does for the nation and what it expects of every Congressman.

The need for intensive boycott propaganda is emphasized by the following extract I take from the speech recently delivered by the Secretary of State for India to the London Chamber of Commerce. He is reported to have said:

> It was difficult to realize the prodigious amount of British capital which was sunk in India, and he was quite ready to believe that it could be put even so high as £700,000,000, or even £1,000,000,000. This year the Railway Department were assured of the prospect of spending £20,000,000 on useful productive works. In addition to the railway capital, the Government of India had nearly £100,000,000 invested in other profit-earning enterprises, and on top of those vast undertakings which accounted for so much of the Indian National Debt, one must pile the incalculable capital sunk in the great trading ventures, which had been growing in value. . . .
>
> India bought from us something like £85,000,000 worth of our commodities, and they could readily realize what the effect on our unemployment problem would be if the Indian market were lost or seriously curtailed. If British traders took to heart the exhortation recently given by the Prince of Wales, he was confident that British fair dealing and superior British workmanship would regain the ground which had been lost in recent years. At present Indian purchases in Great Britain represented only 5s. 3d. per head, while those made by New Zealand and Australia represented respectively £13 5s. 5d. and £8 17s. 3d. per head.

We could not share Lord Peel's joy as he quoted the enormous figures of British capital sunk in India and her purchases of British goods, nor can we associate ourselves with the cheers that greeted his perorations to the eloquent figures. They teach us a different lesson. Most of these purchases spell ruin to the peasantry of India. And let it be remembered that more than half the purchases are of British cloth which India buys whilst its millions of hands remain idle during half the year and whilst they can easily manufacture all the cloth they need in their cottages and stop this terrific drain from the country.[1]

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[1] *Vide* also pp. 1-3.

18. NOTES

A Successful Experiment

Very few readers know and perhaps fewer still are interested in the composition of the A.I.S.A. Council. The reader may recall that the Council timidly, before its time, tried the experiment of having three members added to its strength by election. The voters were A- and B-class members who had paid up their subscriptions. Though the B-class membership was abolished for the reasons already stated in these pages[1], for the purposes of this election, anomalous though it was in many respects, the B-class members were allowed to participate in the voting. The system adopted was proportional representation. The voting was conducted through the post. The result was very satisfactory. The voters understood their responsibility and appreciated the privilege. There were five candidates of whom three had to be elected. The following is an interesting summary of the voting lists:

Total votes cast	290
Invalid	31
Valid votes	259
Quota necessary	$\frac{259}{3+1}+1=66$

First Votes

Sjt. V. V. Jerajani	148
Dr. B. Subrahmanian	55
Sjt. K. Santanam	41
,, Deva Sharma Vidyalankar	13
,, N. Rama Lingam	2

,, Jerajani elected.

Analysis of Sjt. Jerajani's papers for second preferences:

Sjt. K. Santanam	70
Dr. B. Subrahmanian	31
Sjt. Deva Sharma Vidyalankar	9
,, N. Rama Lingam	Nil

[1] *Vide* Vol. XL, pp. 394-5.

Adding first preferences received, the result is as follows:

Dr. B. Subrahmanian	86
Sjt. K. Santanam	79
,, Deva Sharma Vidyalankar	22
,, N. Rama Lingam	2

Dr. B. Subrahmanian and Sjt. K. Santanam elected.

Total voters:		Total votes cast (valid)	
490	A class	212	A class
83	B class	47	B class
573		259	

Thus without any canvassing and without fuss a little over fifty per cent of the voters took part in an election in which there was no unhealthy rivalry and no vital issue at stake. Out of 290 voting papers, 31 were found invalid. That no doubt is a large figure but not too large for the first election on the proportional basis. It is to be wished that there will be more men and women joining the A.I.S.A. For it is not merely a body for taking the message of the wheel to the remotest village of India but incidentally it is a training ground for evolving a vast democratic institution in which the highest position is one of pure service and that position is attainable by merit within reach of the lowliest among us. Let it be noted that the franchise of the A.I.S.A. is the most democratic the world has known. Franchise without any qualification whatsoever save that of age, is, in my opinion, no franchise. It can never lead to true democracy.

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19. WANTED SELF-CONVERSION

It was at Kurnool during the Andhra tour that I received an anonymous letter complaining that members of the local reception committee who were surrounding me were khaddar-clad only for the occasion and that they were habitual wearers of foreign cloth and given to foreign fashions. At the meeting itself, I saw a fair display of foreign garments. I therefore referred to the contents of the letter whilst at the same time I criticized the anonymous writer for hiding his name. The anonymous writer who must have heard my speech promptly wrote to me disclosing his identity. As the letter does credit to the writer and is otherwise instructive I give it below in full:

> Secrecy is a sin. But owing to the reasons set forth below I did not give out my name in my letter of yesterday. I am a Government servant. You are fully aware of the fact that as a Government servant I am not expected to express even my sincere opinion about my country's state or its needs. This is high treason. But still I could not bear to see the palpable insincerity of many of those that came to attend on you yesterday. That was torture to me to see. The duty of the literate lies in convincing the masses. But it is very wrong on the part of the literate to think that the illiterate masses can be made to believe by insincere behaviour. If everyone takes into his head to live by your advice even within his own home, I am sure the time will not be far when India can hold up her head as a free and independent country. Utter want of sincerity cannot convince the masses. We set a bad and a damaging example by our hollowness and we give occasion to the world to mock at us. My mind was ill at ease with all these thoughts and I therefore wrote to you. Though very poor, I do not care whether it is well or ill for me as a Government servant to give out my name, as long as I feel convinced that I have done no wrong. I do not also much mind whether my telling out my name to you will jeopardize my position (as a Government servant) which is my sole means of livelihood.

The writer and others who may write to public journals with a reputation to keep should know that editors are bound to withhold from the public names which the owners give only for editors' satisfaction. The writer therefore may rest assured that his name will never be disclosed. If it is any satisfaction to him he may know that I destroyed the portion containing his name as soon as I had finished reading the letter and that I could not recall the name myself even if I tried.

In my opinion even if he had written his letter for publication with his name, he could have come to no harm. The letter is perfectly innocent and such as any Government servant can write with impunity. We often hesitate to do the right only because of needless fear. We must learn to dare to do the right thing.

Whether the writer's specified charge against the Kurnool leaders can be borne out or not I do not know, but I know that what he says about the insincerity of public life has a substance of truth in it. If the leading class did as it preached, we should have no difficulty in getting an adequate response from the masses. What is therefore sorely needed is undoubtedly conversion of the leading classes. When that comes, the rest will be easy.

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20. *DHOTI*-CUM-*SOLA HAT*

Pandit Durgashankar Mehta of Seoni writes:

> I was a practising lawyer but non-co-operated in 1921. Circumstances have driven me back to law but I am a strict khaddarite. I have given up the use of trousers and ties and attend court and the local legislature in dhoti. As Chairman of my District Council I am running Famine Road Works, which require my being out in the sun. Recently I got a touch of the sun and went in for a hat, which has been specially made of pure khaddar. This has started a controversy. Will you take part in it?

This is an old controversy. My narrow nationalism rebels against the hat, my secret internationalism regards the sola hat as one of the few boons from Europe. But for the tremendous national prejudice against the hat, I would undertake to become president of a league for popularizing sola hats. In my opinion educated India has erred in taking to (in this climate) unnecessary, unhygienic, inelegant trousers and in betraying general hesitation to take up the sola hat. But I know that national likes and dislikes are not governed by reason. That Scotch Highlander will run the risk of being singled out by his kilt as an easy target for the enemy but will not abandon the awkward kilt. I do not expect India to take kindly to the sola hat. Nevertheless workers like Pandit Durgashankar need not be ruffled by criticism and may certainly wear khadi imitations of the sola hat. It is in reality an easily portable umbrella that covers the head without the necessity of one hand being occupied in carrying it. The Calcutta policeman who shades his head from the fierce sun by sustaining an umbrella in his belt puts himself under a double handicap when pitted against his European fellow-member. Those who have strong prejudice against sola hats should study the contrast I have described. I may here draw the reader's attention to an indigenous and effective equivalent of the hat that is very generally worn by the poor farmers of Malabar. It is an umbrella without the handle, made of leaves with a bark hoop to fit the head. It is cheap, thoroughly effective and in no way akin to the hat and yet almost just as serviceable.

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21. *AN APOLOGY*

I have always felt unhappy that even though I am the editor of *Hindi Navajivan* I have never written anything for the journal. There has always been a strong desire to do so, but I was not able to fulfil it before now. From now on I intend to write something for it every week.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 6-6-1929

22. *SPINNING* v. *WEAVING*

Shri Moolchand writes from Khadi Ashram, Ringas:[1]

I feel that it is the duty of khadi workers to teach the art of weaving to those peasants who wish to learn it. But it cannot be considered as important as carding nor can it be propagated as successfully. Carding is an indivisible part of the process of spinning, as preparing dough is of that of making chapatis. If a person knows how to make chapatis but cannot prepare the dough he cannot be said to have mastered the art of making chapatis. So it is as important to teach carding as it is to teach spinning.

Weaving is quite a separate process, a distinct occupation. Moreover, it has not become extinct. India's poverty and weaving are in no way inter-connected. It is the extinction of spinning which is responsible for the grievous plight and the utter poverty in which our peasantry finds itself today. Even when we wish them to become self-reliant it is not necessary to teach them weaving. Self-reliance does not mean in any way that each man must do everything himself. It would be useless and harmful to attempt it. Man is a social being and depends on society. Self-reliance means only that each village ought to produce all the grain and all the cloth it requires. There has to be a division of labour in the villages. Only spinning will be essential for everyone. It was so in the past. So it should be now and in the future. Even a little reflection will make it clear that if spinning is to be done by hand, as it should be, then this is the way to do so.

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had described the work done in the Ashram and asked Gandhiji if weaving was not as important as spinning.

We should not feel for a moment that because the weavers are not honest in their dealings, the peasants should learn how to weave. Our job is to make the weavers better. They are also a part of society. Of course one thing must be done—some of the khadi workers should learn to weave well so that they can influence the weavers and also save them from the injustice they have to suffer because of our ignorance.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 6-6-1929

23. COUNCIL-ENTRY

A gentleman writes about Council-entry:[1]

My views on this subject are the same as they were in 1920-21. I do not feel that the country has benefited by people getting into the Councils. If however we must enter the Councils then those elected would do well to use this forum to promote the constructive programme, e.g., khadi, etc. Not to enter the Councils would be wisdom of the first order. But next best would be to join them and then to carry on there the work one would be doing outside.

I would advise the readers that they should forget all about the Councils if they have not set their heart on getting elected themselves or getting someone else elected.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 6-6-1929

24. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

June 8, 1929

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

I have your second letter. It is answered in *Hindi Navajivan*,[2] which you may look up.

Yours,

MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 831

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had asked if, in view of Gandhiji's statement at the Calcutta Congress, it could be said that he supported Council-entry.

[2] *Vide* pp. 26-7.

25. BURMA'S CONTRIBUTION IN 1926

Shri Manilal Kothari had gone to Burma in 1926 to make collections for the All-India Deshbandhu Memorial Fund. It was suggested to me while I was in Burma and I had agreed that the funds received at that time should be duly acknowledged in *Navajivan*. But immediately thereafter, I got caught up in tours and hence I could obtain no figures and there has been some slackness. Therefore, I apologize to those brothers who had expected to see this list. A sum of Rs. 39,787-14-3 was realized through three cheques received at different times. Out of it, a sum of Rs. 19,743-4-0, which was earmarked for being spent in Kathiawar itself, was credited to the account of the Satyagraha Ashram and was disbursed through the agency of the Ashram. The balance was credited to the account of the All-India Spinners' Association and its disbursement is recorded in its account books. I see from an old paper that a sum of Rs. 3,376 out of the promised contributions has not yet been received. I have with me the names of those who had recorded their proposed contributions. I hope those who had promised contributions will send them or that workers will collect and forward them. If any donor wishes to have further information, he should write to the secretary of the Udyoga Mandir.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-6-1929

26. GUJARAT'S DUTY

The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee has not at all been remiss in giving effect to the Congress resolution. It has sent a copy of the resolution together with suggestions to every place and, in order to facilitate the task of workers, it has provided even figures about the number of taluks in the districts of the Province, the number of villages and the population in each taluk and the extent of the contribution it has to make. And if every taluk does its duty, the Congress resolution will have been properly implemented. As the statistics[1] given are of permanent value and as they will be useful to workers in future also, I give them below:

[1] Not given here

I hope Gujarat will not be satisfied with enrolling a quarter per cent of its population as members, but as it had earlier pledged to do special work in proportion to its special capacity, it would do likewise this time too. Every district must do at least this much: The workers of the Provincial Committee should meet and assess their capacity. The workers of every district should meet and assess their wn capacity and try to exceed the share that falls to them. By doing so, very good results can be obtained without effort and the backward districts and backward taluks can be covered. Gujarat should remember that the Congress Committee, in fixing a quarter per cent, kept the weakest provinces in view. Gujarat does not regard itself as weak in its capacity for doing work. Other provinces, too, do not consider Gujarat as a weak province. Hence Gujarat cannot rest satisfied with enrolling a quarter per cent as members. For example, at the time of collecting a crore, when there was competition in Gujarat, Surat had done much better than its allotted share. Can Surat or Kheda district draw any satisfaction by comparing itself with Panchmahals? Wherever there is unity, the strong have always borne the burdens of the weak. In accordance with that principle, if we regard India as indivisible, we would shoulder the burdens of the weak provinces and the strong among us would bear the burdens of the weak. Where such an attitude is cultivated, the weak do not feel their burden and the strong do not feel proud.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-6-1929

27. *WHAT SHOULD MUNICIPALITIES DO?*

It may be worth while knowing what the municipalities and local bodies should do in regard to the triple boycott. I do not know how many of these municipalities and local bodies in Gujarat are under Congress influence. The Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee points out from time to time how much work can be done in regard to the boycott in those bodies to which Congressmen have been elected. The Committee publishes the names of these municipalities which do this work. Among them the names of local bodies in Gujarat are to be found scattered here and there. Instead of this happening, Gujarat's contribution ought to be large. There must be only a few municipalities or local boards in Gujarat or India which do not believe in boycott.

One thing they can do on a large scale. When the boycott gains momentum, there is bound to be a shortage of khadi. In overcoming this shortage, the municipalities can make a big contribution. All of them can get yarn spun in their schools and have it woven in their own villages. It is possible to do this work with ease and at a minimum cost. If the khadi thus produced is not now utilized by the respective villages or towns, it is possible to sell it off immediately at other centres. If this happens at all places, there can never be a shortage of cloth. Just as we can never imagine a shortage of *rotlis* as long as wheat is available, people should experience no shortage of cloth whatsoever so long as cotton is available.

In order to do such lasting work, there should be an atmosphere of khadi. If there is such an atmosphere, there will be sacrificial spinners in every home and yarn will be spun in every home. An early start can be given to the creation of such an atmosphere through municipal schools.

What applies to municipalities certainly applies also to national schools. It is good that pupils go hawking, but it is even more necessary to produce khadi at present than hawk it. Greater labour, art and patience are needed in the production of khadi. Hence those who have an understanding of khadi and boycott have to give more emphasis to its production. Gujarat may well have less of yarn spun by poor sisters, but it should have an inexhaustible power to produce sacrificial yarn. At the moment Bhai Fulchand's band is hawking khadi in Kathiawar. That is praiseworthy. It also meets with success. Why should not the same band produce yarn and teach others to do likewise?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-6-1929

28. *ANONYMOUS DONATIONS*

A donor has written an anonymous letter under the name "Natural Feeling" and sent a hundred rupees. Of this amount, Rs. 50 is meant for the Lalaji Memorial, Rs. 10 for the Maganlal Memorial, Rs. 25 for relief of distress in the South and Rs. 15 for cow-protection work.

I thank "Natural Feeling" for this anonymous donation. I have very often written that the habit of writing anonymous letters is very bad, that it should not at all be encouraged, that it is a sign of cowardice. But the anonymous letter of "Natural Feeling" deserves none of these reproaches. The action of "Natural Feeling" is one example of the fact that there are in the world very few things which are solely good or solely bad at all times and at all places. It is desirable that people should follow the example of "Natural Feeling". Donors love to see their names in newspapers. Ultimately, almost all desire that their names should be known at least to those to whom they send their donations. There may be some among these who do not give their names even to the recipients; such people deserve to be encouraged. This way those who receive donations are fully tested since the donors can watch how their anonymous gifts are being utilized.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-6-1929

29. *"SAD PLIGHT OF BULSAR BHANGIS"*[1]

1. I have published the above article without changing a single word in it under the title given to it by Thakkar Bapa. How nice it would have been had he stopped in Bulsar even for a day and solved this problem of cruelty by making a constructive suggestion! Or if a solution were not possible, we would have got at any rate an idea of the cruelty of municipal councillors and the other respectable citizens. But is such a suggestion necessary for Thakkar Bapa? He spends all his twenty-four hours in

[1] A. V. Thakkar had visited Bulsar with anti-untouchability workers. His report was published under this title.

work of this sort only. It is only to be seen what the Vibhishanas[1] of Bulsar do after reading this article. The municipality can, if it wishes, remedy this inhuman state of affairs in a day. Its chief officer can assess the extent of the Bhangis' indebtedness, meet the Pathans and repay to them the loans advanced by them and can easily form a co-operative society. He can know why they have to incur debts and if they hereafter would take loans in an improper way, he can urge them not to do so. This will take a little time of the official and the work will be accomplished at once.

2. The same official can scrutinize their expenses and inquire into the additions to or deductions from their wages.

3. If no one is willing to let them draw water from his well, the municipality should construct one for them. And the Vibhishanas should, in order to set an example to the Hindus, draw water from it for themselves from time to time and on that excuse keep the well also clean.

4. It should forthwith provide to the forty-two servants residential facilities fit for human beings and explain to the Bhangi and non-Bhangi women that the lavatories constructed near their residences are open to Bhangi women also.

5. If the admission of the Bhangis' children into the existing schools angers the residents of Bulsar, the municipality should start a good school for the Bhangis and the Vibhishanas should send their children to it. The municipality can do all these things quickly, but if it does not do its duty, the Congressmen of Bulsar should do theirs, and the youth league of Bulsar should follow suit. In improving the sad plight of forty-two men, no big economic question can arise nor that of the availability or non-availability of many workers. The question is merely one of compassion. If the Goddess of Compassion dwells nowhere in Bulsar, this story of cruelty will remain buried in the files of *Navajivan* as a proof of Thakkar Bapa's anguish of soul. If there is any vigilant person in Bulsar, he should write to *Navajivan* and intimate whether anyone has taken any steps in this respect or not.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-6-1929

[1] Vibhishana, Ravana's brother, supported the cause of Rama because it was righteous. The reference here is to the fair-minded among caste Hindus who worked against untouchability, risking social ostracism.

30. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

June 10, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I have your letter. By all means do come in July. By the first week of July I must be back here.[1]

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6787

31. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

[*June 11, 1929*][2]

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

For many years now the proposal to have a well dug for the *Antyajas* in Junagadh remains unfulfilled. Devchandbhai knows about it, and was also making some arrangements about it. Please inquire into this. And your *dal*[3] ought to complete the work on this well. I have already written to Devchandbhai that the expenditure would be provided for.

Haven't you included Manilal Kothari in the Youth Conference? He ought to be included. A sum of Rs. 750 has come from Rangoon, about which also he had been speaking to me. It would be proper to decide in consultation with Bhai Nanalal how the amount should be spent. A letter signed by both of you should go to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAI FULCHAND KASTURCHAND
KELAVANI MANDAL, WADHWAN CITY, KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9189

[1] From Almora; *vide* also pp. 11 & 14.
[2] From the postmark
[3] Team

32. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Tuesday, June [11][1], 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL JOSHI,

Vallabhbhai told me that the cheque for Rs. 900 which I brought with me from Bardoli was not acknowledged in *Young India*, and that when he made an inquiry and again after an investigation into the matter, you wrote to him that you knew nothing about it. Please let me know what the facts of the case are. Now I sleep all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5421

33. 'FOOD FADDISTS'

I have been known as a crank, faddist, mad man. Evidently the reputation is well deserved. For wherever I go, I draw to myself cranks, faddists and mad men. Andhra has its fair share of all these. They often find their way to Sabarmati. No wonder then that I found these specimens in abundance during my Andhra tour. But I propose to introduce to the reader only one fellow crank who by his living faith in his mission compelled my admiration and induced me to plunge into a dietetic experiment which I had left unfinished at the age of 20 when I was a student in London.[2] This is Sundaram Gopalrao of Rajahmundry. The ground was prepared for him by a survey superintendent whom I met at Vizagapatam and who told me he was practically living on raw food. Gopalrao has a nature-cure establishment in Rajahmundry, to which he devotes the whole of his time. He said to me, "The hip-baths and other kindred appliances are good so far as they go. But even they are artificial. To be rid of disease it is necessary to do away with fire in the preparation of foods. We must take everything in its vital state even as animals do."

"Would you advise me to adopt entirely raw diet?," I asked.

[1] The source has "12", which however was Wednesday.
[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX, pp. 50-3.

"Certainly, why not? I have cured cases of chronic dyspepsia in old men and women through a balanced diet containing germinating seeds," was Gopalrao's reply.

"But surely there should be a transition stage," I gently remonstrated.

"No such stage is necessary," rejoined Gopalrao. "Uncooked food, including uncooked starch and proteid are any day more digestible than cooked. Try it and you will feel all the better for it."

"Do you take the risk? If the cremation ceremony takes place in Andhra, the people will cremate your body with mine," I said.

"I take the risk," said Gopalrao.

"Then send me your soaked wheat. I commence from today," I said.

Poor Gopalrao sent the soaked wheat. Kasturbai, not knowing that it could possibly be meant for me, gave it to the volunteers who finished it. So I had to commence the experiment the following day—9th May. It is therefore now a month when I am writing these notes.

I am none the worse for the experiment. Though I have lost over five pounds in weight, my vitality is unimpaired. During the last eight days the weight has shown a decided tendency to increase.

Fellow faddists should know what I am doing.

I take generally eight *tolas* of germinating wheat, eight *tolas* of sweet almonds reduced to a paste, eight *tolas* of green leaves spinach or pounded [*sic*], six sour lemons, and two ounces of honey. Wheat is replaced twice or thrice during the week by an equal quantity of germinating gram. And when gram is taken in the place of wheat, cocoanut milk replaces almond paste. The food is divided into two parts, the first meal is taken at 11 a.m., the second at 6.15 p.m. The only thing touched by fire is water. I take in the morning and once more during the day boiling water, lemon and honey.

Both wheat and gram germinate in 36 hours. The grain is soaked in water for twenty-four hours. The water is then strained. The grain is then left in a piece of wet khadi overnight. You find it sprouting in the morning ready for use. Those who have sound teeth need not pound the grain at all. For cocoanut milk a quarter of the kernel is grated fine and you squeeze the milk through a piece of stout khadi.

It is unnecessary to enter into further details. What I have given is enough for diet reformers to help me with their suggestions. I have lived for years on uncooked fruits and nuts but never

before beyond a fortnight on uncooked cereals and pulses. Let those therefore who know anything of unfired food favour me with literature or their own experiences.

I publish the facts of this experiment because I attach the greatest importance to it. If it succeeds it enables serious men and women to make revolutionary changes in their mode of living. It frees women from a drudgery which brings no happiness but which brings disease in its train. The ethical value of uncooked food is incomparable. Economically this food has possibilities which no cooked food can have. I therefore seek the sympathetic help of all medical men and laymen who are interested in reformed dietetics.

Let no one blindly copy the experiment. I have not Gopalrao's faith. I do not claim success for it yet. I am moving cautiously. The facts are published so as to enable me to compare notes with fellow food reformers.

Young India, 13-6-1929

34. DR. SUNDERLAND'S VOLUME

If the house of the the editor of *The Modern Review* could be searched,[1] why should he not be arrested? The Government of Bengal did not leave us long in doubt. Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee has been arrested and is to be tried for sedition. The sedition evidently consists in his having published the Rev. Dr. Sunderland's book of which the Poet Rabindranath Tagore says:

> The Rev. Dr. Sunderland became personally known to me during his visit to India and my visits to America, and won from the first my deep regard. I have greatly admired his courage, earnestness and sincerity in taking up in this book the cause of the Indian people. . . . His love of humanity, which knows no geographical boundaries or racial differences, should be a lesson to all of us who seek to share his ideals and carry on his work.

In the foreword the author says:[2]

> I very much desire not to be misunderstood as to my motive in writing this book. Let no one say, or for a moment believe, that the book means enmity to Great Britain. It means nothing of the kind, any more than pleas for freedom of the slave in the old days of American

[1] *Vide* pp. 17-9.

[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

slavery meant enmity to the American nation which permitted slavery. . . . I am in no sense whatever England's foe or ill-wisher. What I advocate for India I believe to be for England's good as well as for India's. I want no wrong done to England, in connection with India or anywhere else. But I also want England to do no wrong to India, or through India to the world. . . .

The plain fact is: there are two Englands, just as there are two Americas. One of the Englands — that which I like to think of as the *true* one — believes in justice and freedom, not only at home but everywhere else. This is the England of Magna Charta; of Milton and Pym and Hampden; of Pitt and Fox and Burke in 1776 when they demanded justice for the American Colonies; of Burke and Sheridan in connection with the trial of Warren Hastings, when they demanded justice for India; the England that abolished its slave trade in 1807 and slavery in all British dominions in 1833; the England of the Reform Bills; the England of such friends of India as Cobden and Bright, Lord Ripon, Mary Carpenter, Professor Fawcett, Charles Bradlaugh, A. O. Hume, Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, and many others in the past; and many today, both inside and outside of Parliament (and particularly the Labour Party). . . .

This England I honour and love. . . . Unfortunately, there is another England. . . . It is the England which fought against Magna Charta; which refused to give justice and freedom to the American Colonies in 1776; which has constantly allied itself with militarism and imperialism; which fought two wars to force opium on China; which long held Ireland in bondage; which opposed all efforts to abolish the slave trade and slavery; which has opposed practically all political and social reforms in England; and which today, while giving profuse promises to India of pots of gold at the end of a rainbow thrusts into prison without trial Indian leaders who agitate for freedom, and gives no assurance of any real intention of ever loosening its iron grip upon what King George calls "My Indian Empire".

This England I do not love or honour. It is solely against this evil, and as I believe, dangerous England, that any hostility or criticism found in the following pages is directed. . . .

I believe that this imperialistic, might-makes-right England, if kept in power, will as certainly lose India to Britain, as the rising of the sun. The men at this England's head are the Lord Norths of our time, who are driving India to revolution, just as Lord North and George III in 1776 drove the American Colonies to Revolution. And India's revolution, if it comes, will be sympathized with by all Asia and by all intelligent lovers of liberty in the entire world. And there will be no possibility of its being put down. India will emerge a free, independent and great nation, wholly independent of Britain,

> Something ought to be said here regarding my qualifications for writing about India. . . . For more than forty years I have been a constant student of India's great religions, her extensive literature, her philosophies, her remarkable art, her long history, and above all, her pressing and vital present-day social and political problems. . . .

Dr. Sunderland is a nonagenarian. He is no adventurer. If he is seditious, it is virtue to be in his company. Undoubtedly the book contains strong things strongly put. But there is no malice in them. The book is brimful of quotations from eminent English writers. It has passed through its second edition inside of a year. I tender my congratulations to Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee on his having published Dr. Sunderland's book and on his being therefore singled out for the honour of a prosecution. This arrest is forcible proof of Dr. Sunderland's indictment of British rule.

Young India, 13-6-1929

35. KHADI GUIDE

The A.I.S.A. has just published a khadi guide which as well as the report of the A.I.S.A. for 1927-28 all public workers should possess. Both can be had at the offices of the A.I.S.A. or its many depots at Rs. 1-2-0 and 0-4-0, respectively. The guide is profusely illustrated and gives information about the khadi activity in all the provinces. It contains too some useful maps. It should be the concern of every patriot to study the activities of an institution that finds work for nearly 1,000 middle class men and through them distributes among nearly one hundred thousand women, 5,000 weavers and 700 carders in over 2,000 villages twenty-four lakhs of rupees annually. The report contains audited accounts which careful workers may criticize. The Association is in need of sympathy as well as informed and useful criticism.

Young India, 13-6-1929

36. *BARDOLI ENQUIRY REPORT*

Messrs Broomfield and Maxwell's report is an illuminating document. Its pages are an evidence of the immense conscientious labours they have put into the work entrusted to them, within the limits prescribed by the reference whose operative sentences (including an obvious grammatical slip) were word for word as the people's representatives had drawn up. Though therefore the actual finding on the question of the amount of assessment is, as Mahadev Desai has, in my opinion, conclusively pointed out,[1] faulty, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and the ryots of the tracts concerned are bound to accept it. It is up to them however at least to reason and point out to the Government the defects in the finding and to leave it to their honour to remedy them. Throughout the brave fight the people put up, the question never was one of rupees, annas and pies, burdensome though the assessment was. The question was one of principle and justice. Resentment was felt against the high-handed and contemptuous manner in which the people's case was treated. The authors of the report have completely vindicated its justice.

The Officers were to

> enquire into and report upon the complaint of the people of the Bardoli Taluk and Valod Mahal and Chorasi Taluk—
>
> (a) that the enhancement of revenue recently made is not warranted in terms of the Land Revenue Code,
>
> (b) that the reports accessible to the public do not contain sufficient data warranting the enhancement and that some of the data given are wrong;

and they were to

> find, that (*sic*) if the people's complaint is held to be justified, what enhancement or reduction, if any, there should be upon the old assessment.

On all these points the Commissioners have substantially found in favour of the people. As to the first complaint the Commissioners have found that the authorities have offended against the spirit of Section 107. The Commissioners' examination of the second complaint is detailed, exhaustive, able and instructive.

[1] In *Young India*, 23-5-1929, under the title "The Bardoli Report: An Analysis"

It is the best part of the report and covers 40 out of 77 pages of the body of the report. This examination proves to the hilt almost every one of the charges brought by the people against Messrs Jayakar and Anderson. There could be no better vindication than this:

> We are bound to hold that the complaint referred to in point (b) of the terms of reference is substantially justified. The data in the reports, apart from the rental and sale statistics, are obviously not sufficient to warrant either the general increases sanctioned in the maximum rates, or the much higher increases in the case of particular villages. The rental and sale statistics have been carelessly compiled, are demonstrably incorrect in a large number of cases, and in general must be regarded as completely unreliable. Further, the established method of using the statistics is in our opinion unsound in theory, and however it may work in practice in other districts, is not capable of giving satisfactory results in this part of Gujarat, where leases and sale transactions are affected by such a variety of disturbing factors. In view of this conclusion we submit that the present settlement cannot be allowed to stand in either of the two taluks.

Having thus found that the increase made by the Government had offended against the spirit of Section 107 of the Code and that the data relied upon by the Government were insufficient and faulty, the Commissioners had to say what the increase or the reduction, as the case may be, on the old assessment there should be. Though in my opinion the case before the Commissioners was for a substantial reduction in the old assessment, such a proposal was evidently beyond their ken. Revision has traditionally come to mean an increase, be it ever so slight, in the general rate of assessment. Though therefore they have rejected the Government rate of 22 per cent increase as excessive, they have proposed an increase of 5.7 per cent. This means an increase of Rs. 48,648 instead of Rs. 1,87,492.

For the people's representatives they have unmixed praise. I cannot resist the temptation to quote from the report the Commissioners' unqualified appreciation of their "valuable assistance":

> At all our inspections the case for the agriculturists was also watched by representatives specially delegated for the purpose, principally Mr. Narahari Parikh and Mr. Mahadev Desai. In addition to the compilation of much useful information on their own lines, these gentlemen had systematically investigated and tabulated in advance the rental or sale transactions of each village in our programme, and their detailed knowledge of individual cases not infrequently enabled us to obtain more ac-

curate information than would otherwise have been available. We gladly acknowledge here the conscientious and impartial manner in which this assistance was given to us and its real value for the purposes of this enquiry.

But as I have already said the report suffers from limitations. Though the total increase proposed by the Commissioners is trifling in the aggregate, it is not warranted by the facts of the case and in certain cases serious injustice has been done, unconsciously no doubt, by the Commissioners. If the Government is wise, it would redress the injustice. This is an injustice which it was within the power of the Commissioners to avoid and which they could and would have avoided, if they had more time, and if they had, as they should have, heard the people's representatives on the proposed increase. Such a precaution is necessary when every case or every village is never individually examined. In assessing particular villages Messrs Broomfield and Maxwell have simply drawn deductions from the condition of villages which they have thought to be analogous. What therefore they could not do or failed to do, the Government can, if they wish, do now without much time or trouble and render the needed justice in individual cases.

But the report also suffers from defects which the Commissioners had no power to remedy. Sardar Vallabhbhai's belief is shared by all those who have at all studied the land revenue policy, that the land is already over-assessed and that the case is not one of tinkering with particular assessments but it is one of overhauling the whole land revenue policy. The pages of this valuable report show that both the revenue laws and the methods of their administration are far from satisfactory. But this is a question which the people of Bardoli had not raised. It is for the country now to demand a radical change both in the law and its administration. This requires a critical study of both, and popular education and propaganda in revenue matters. It will tax the Sardar's best ingenuity and provide him with a platform for civil disobedience of an all-India character, should the Government still prove obdurate and deaf to public opinion. The illuminating report and the Bardoli triumph should render unnecessary any such heroic measure.

Young India, 13-6-1929

37. PANDIT NEHRU'S APPEAL

Pandit Motilal Nehru has addressed the following appeal to Congress members of the legislatures:

You must have read with interest the recent pronouncement of the Viceroy and of some provincial Governors extending the life of the legislatures. As you are no doubt aware, the A.I.C.C.[1] and the Working Committee considered this situation and decided to call upon all Congress members of the legislatures to abstain from attending them till further notice. They were further asked to devote all their available time to the furtherance of the Congress programme in the country.

It is clear that the real strength of the nation is built up by work outside the present legislatures, and even our Council work carries weight only to the extent of the organized strength behind us. All indications point to an approaching crisis and by the end of this year at the latest we must be ready to face this crisis with confidence. The A.I.C.C. has therefore laid down a special programme of reorganization for the next three months, failure to comply with which will lead to the disaffiliation or non-recognition of the Committee concerned. Those of us who are members on behalf of the Congress of the Central Legislature or the Provincial Councils have now to demonstrate that we can work outside the Councils as well as inside. Even from the point of view of future Council work it is essential that we should work in our constituencies and consolidate the position of the Congress.

I write this letter to appeal to you to give some time and energy to working for this Congress programme. You would naturally prefer working in your own constituency. This is right. I would suggest however that you should immediately get into touch with your Provincial Congress Committee so that full advantage may be taken of your time and your efforts may be co-ordinated with those of others.

You may of course concentrate on any item of the Congress programme. I would specially suggest however the formation of village and local Congress Committees, the enrolment of Congress members and volunteers and the boycott of foreign cloth. I would also strongly recommend your collecting funds for Congress work. These moneys should be sent to the Provincial Congress Committee concerned which will issue receipts to the donors. The money may also be sent direct to the A.I.C.C. office in Allahabad.

[1] All-India Congress Committee

I would like to keep a separate record of these activities of Congress members of the legislatures so that the country may know what we can do outside the Councils. I would therefore request you to send me a monthly letter telling me briefly what you have done to further the Congress programme. This report may take the form suggested on a separate sheet. It should be sent to me direct.

If you have any difficulties the office of the A.I.C.C. will be glad to help you in removing them.

This authoritative pronouncement that "the real strength of the nation is built up by work outside the present legislatures" has come none too soon. If the members of the legislatures will recognize this obvious truth and emphasize it in their speeches and acts during the remaining months of this year, we should be ready to face any crisis that may overtake the country.

Young India, 13-6-1929

38. *A CARDING ENTHUSIAST*

Shri Mahavir Prasad Poddar writes the following in praise of carding:[1]

The carding-bow is indeed as praiseworthy as Bhai Mahavir Prasad says it is. For those who would learn the art of spinning in its totality it is essential to learn the use of this instrument as well. It is very easy to learn and the music it produces while it is operated is very sweet to the ears. I would advise all those who use clean snow-white cotton slivers to follow Mahavir Prasad's example.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 13-6-1929

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had emphasized the importance and beauty of carding. He had stressed the need to teach carding in every village and offered his services for this purpose.

39. *MARRIAGE AND THE VEDAS*

There is more of pomp and show and less of religion in the way the marriage rites are performed in the Hindu society these days. Those who are getting married do not know what these rites are or represent, and what their obligations are after the ceremony. This is highly regrettable. The Vedas regard marriage as a sacrament and have described how it should be performed. Marriages should continue to be performed in the same way. It is the duty of the parents and the elders to explain to the couple the significance of these rites and their duties after going through the ceremony. These rites and the pledges that the couple have to take have already been published in *Navajivan*[1]. Readers may look them up.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 13-6-1929

40. *NOTES*

Sewing as a "Yajna"

Shri Mahavir Prasad also writes:[2]

Whatever we do for the good of others is a *yajna*. A number of such big and small *yajnas* are necessary to make the khadi movement successful. Spinning of course is the biggest and most universal of these. If those who have a little spare time would tailor khadi it could be made very cheap. This work can be organized only at such places where khadi bhandars exist and only the khadi bhandars can efficiently manage it. I would like to thank Bhai Mahavir Prasad and Ghanshyamdasji too for making a start in this direction. I hope they will continue the sacred work they have undertaken. It should not be difficult to find such ladies in Calcutta who would volunteer to stitch khadi.

"Navajivan" Series

There is no end to Shri Mahavir Prasad's greed. He is ever dreaming of propagation of khadi. He has extracted a

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXX, pp. 85-9.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested that by stitching khadi free of cost people could participate in the khadi *yajna*. He had referred to a scheme to this effect started in G. D. Birla's house.

number of articles regarding khadi and allied activities from *Navajivan* and distributed them in book-form in thousands. These booklets are available at a cheap price. He intends publishing them as a series to be known as *Navajivan Mala*. I have seen the first three books and I feel that they ought to be widely circulated. If enough khadi literature is made available to the public they will realize the potentialities of khadi.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 13-6-1929

41. LETTER TO LILAVATI

BAREILLY,
June 13, 1929

CHI. LILAVATI,

I could not reply to your letter earlier; I had absolutely no time. Whatever you would do rests solely on your strength. My only advice could be that you can do whatever you would, after satisfying your uncle who, you say, has such great affection for you. If you wish to take some step in spite of his dissatisfaction, it must be subject to two conditions. It should proceed with restraint and be prompted by the inner voice. The bonds of kinship too slacken before the inner voice. All the same one ought to know that the inner voice is very often wrongly interpreted.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9314

42. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

BAREILLY,
June 13, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL JOSHI,

Parnerkar had given me points to be included in the letter to Sir Purushottamdas. I enclose them with this. They seem to be all right. In the letter make clear that it will be for him to get a fencing put up. Give him an estimate of the expenditure for that. We should get occupancy right for 25 years. After that period, we should get compensation for the buildings we may

have constructed at a rate to be fixed then. If the two parties differ as regards the amount, a duly authorized arbitrator should be appointed and we should be paid the amount fixed by him. We should be bound for five years to accept their cattle, even if we are incurring losses. You may also add that, if the society in Bombay wishes to discuss the matter further, Parnerkar will visit Bombay.

Have a talk with Chi. Kanti from time to time. We cannot say yet that he has calmed down.

I send with this Ranchhodbhai's letter; make good use of his criticism.

The change about the kitchen can be introduced with immediate effect.

I shall make one criticism about the names suggested for the different places in the Ashram. I see no uniformity in them. There is a mixture of Bengali, Marathi and Persian words. No thought seems to have been given to the matter. Why *kutir*, and not *kuti*? Why should we not call the place "Magan Kutir" or "Magan Niwas"? What shall we gain by having a new name in place of the suggestive one, "Striniwas"? Why not "Prarthanabhavan"? Or, why should we not try to find a word which can be easily understood to indicate that the place where prayers are held is an open maidan?

I see no reasoning behind the suggestion to call the guest house "Nandini". I should certainly like Bhansali's name to be connected with Mahadev's dwelling. Why should we not name it "Jaybhuvan"? Why should the kitchen be named "Sharadamandir"? Why not "Bhojanshala"? Since the place serves both purposes, its name should refer to both. "Kailas" for "Vankar Niwas" sounds ostentatious. "Rustom Block" should be changed into a suggestive name. We should find the Gujarati equivalent for "block". "Goshala" is a suggestive name, and we have no right to replace it by the most sacred name "Gokul". "Uttar Prantar" and "Dakshin Prantar" too do not sound well to me. We should dismiss "Rajmarg". I have some doubt whether to permit "Vithi" to stay. "Tirtha" should be dismissed.

You will now easily understand what is at the root of my criticism. Comments were invited at the time of the prayer; take this as in response to that. Don't think at all that my suggestions must be carried out. It will be enough if this criticism receives attention along with other criticisms. Kaka will be able to think better about this problem.

Preserve the accompanying notice. It is necessary that Chhaganlal[1] should see the *Vahivatdar*[2] when he goes there. If they have started any work, there will be no problem at all.

I have gone through the new scheme drawn up by Chhotelal for the production of khadi in Bahial. I enclose it with this. The weakest part of the scheme is that relating to carding. We can succeed only if it is taken up by the new class of people that has arisen.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 15802; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 114-6

43. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

BAREILLY,
June 13, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I fail to write when I am moving from place to place. I often intend to write but when it is time for the weekly mail my letter is not ready. This time too I have set out on a journey. The journey will lead me to the hills. Today we are at the foot of the mountain in Bareilly. This time I have a large convoy. There is Ba, there is Purushottam, then Prithviraj and Pyarelal too. Devdas will join us in Almora. The journey has been organized by Prabhudas. Among the women are Jamnabehn, Khurshedbehn, Mirabehn and Kusumbehn. Mahadev has been detained by Vallabhbhai. If both of you cannot come away and Sushila alone comes, it is all right. But I think there is nothing wrong if she stays on till both of you can come along provided she is keeping well and her separation from her parents is not very painful to her. What I mean is that you should do what both of you wish to. If Sushila desires to come she must not be held back. If proper arrangements about the journal, etc., cannot be made, I realize that you cannot come over. Ramdas is not particularly well. He is not yet free from his mental

[1] Chhaganlal Gandhi was manager and trustee of the Vijapur Khadi Ashram. The Gaekwar State had served some notice which is referred to here.

[2] An official under the Gaekwar of Baroda State

trouble. I am of course fine. About my recent experiment in diet you will read in *Navajivan* and *Young India*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4755

44. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

BAREILLY,
June 13, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

In my reply to your letter I forgot to mention one thing. If you want to be very particular about the things to be taken with you, you may bring along a couple of bowls and a plate, and also a *lota*[1]. I have not yet been able to fix up a date on which to return to the Udyoga Mandir, but hope to do so in the first week of July.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6788

45. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

BAREILLY,
June 13, 1929

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Harbhai is Nanabhai's colleague at Dakshinamurti Bhavan. Nanabhai has fallen ill. Following the talk we had at Wardha about this school I am sending him on to you. You were to consider what assistance you could give to this institution. I have today sent an assurance to Nanabhai taking it that you will make a donation. You will learn all the details from Harbhai, see the accounts of the institution and do whatever you consider proper.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6173. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] Metal jug

46. *SPEECH AT NAINITAL*

June 14, 1929

My voice is not as strong as it was in 1921. I should now stop making speeches. Here too I did not and do not intend making a speech. But one who considers himself a representative of *Daridranarayana* cannot stop begging. I have not much strength left. But you all keep giving me something or the other, so I cannot overcome my greed. I thank you for the address and the purse. I am grateful that in order to save time you omitted reading the verses, and the chairman of the District Board left out the whole address. I thank you for the same. You have not contributed enough money. Those who live here are not poor. They are the ones who have usurped the occupations of the poor. I have come to remind them of their duty. The population here has come down from 3 lakhs to 2 lakhs. Why has it decreased so much? Why this decline in spite of good climate? Why have so many people died or left? Evidently because people have no employment here. They are suffering badly for want of employment. We send out our wool to foreign countries or sell it to the mills. We deprive the poor of their bread because we buy mill-cloth. Our tastes have changed. We consider swadeshi cloth to be bad and mill material good. We like to dress up like the sahibs. We have ruined the poor by aping others. People have become cowards. But if they try they can cast off their fear. One should only fear God and no one else. I consider that the best remedy for India's poverty and the prevailing cowardice would be to give up foreign cloth. All the brothers and sisters should share in this effort. It can be done easily. People sing or recite poetry but this is not going to solve the problem of hunger. The truth is that only the charkha can satisfy our hunger and bring us swaraj. Ever since the message of the charkha has been spread in India it has given life to thousands of women. I would request all the brothers who use foreign cloth that they should wear the rough cloth made by their countrymen. They will thus provide livelihood to thousands. The Congress has called for prohibition. I do not know how many people here are addicted to liquor. It is this evil habit which brought about the destruction of the Yadavas even though they had Lord Krishna among them. Lord Krishna had warned them that drinking and

gambling would lead them to destruction. But they did not heed his warning and were annihilated. I would request you also to give up liquor. Everyone should pay four annas and join the Congress. Those who join it have to take the pledge that they would achieve swaraj through peaceful and honest means. Everyone who fulfils these conditions can become a member of the Congress.

This then is the way to attain swaraj. If each man spins enough for himself then swaraj cannot be far. This is what I have come to tell you. I have not much strength. But I would repeat two things which I had said in 1921. One is that if Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis were to unite and not fight with one another, we would attain swaraj today. But you have all lost your head. You have to become good. Then swaraj is within your grasp. The second thing is to remove untouchability; otherwise the Hindu religion itself will be wiped out. How can any Hindu practise untouchability when he proclaims faith in Advaita[1]. It is our first and foremost duty to remove untouchability. Those who have not yet contributed to the purse collected here may please do so now. Women have often volunteered to give me their jewellery; they may do so here too. You have presented me with two boxes. They are very good. But where have I the place for such beautiful things? I would like to strike a bargain with you, you pay me a good sum and buy them. Where do I keep them during my travels, where can I keep them in the Ashram?

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 4-7-1929

47. *DUTY OF REFORMERS*

I received last week a letter dated the 29th ultimo from a reform society of Ahmedabad. It is as follows:[2]

The matter of this letter must perhaps have become old by now but the incident which has been narrated in it is likely to

[1] Non-duality; the Vedantic doctrine of the identity of the individual self with the universal Self

[2] The letter is not translated here. It stated that the Reform of Society League which was started three months earlier had only nine members. They cleaned the by-lanes and wrote to the Municipality for a urinal. The sanitary committee visited the spot. The opponents attacked them with sticks as well as words of abuse. The situation would have taken an ugly turn had they not held their peace. Now they had two ways open to them: violence and the law-court. Their lives were in danger; they sought Gandhiji's advice.

recur often. There is no doubt that the bad habits which are ingrained in us will not go all at once. To get rid of them, the same efforts are needed which we are making for winning swaraj. Such efforts will produce and are producing the same strength, which results from our efforts for swaraj, for both things are the same. We labour under the illusion that we are unable to do anything because we are powerless. The other illusion is that nothing happens because we are small in number. I have no doubt that our strength will grow if we try to destroy evil, immorality and rot wherever we see them.

But there is a limit to such efforts. That is the limit set by truth and non-violence; hence there will certainly be discretion and politeness. We shall do what we mean to, but shall put up with our elders' abuse, stick and knife. A court of law has no place in the limits set by me. The law-courts of today are no law-courts at all. The victory scored in them is no victory. A reformer's victory lies in melting the heart of his opponent. A law-court cannot at all achieve that, even a stick cannot. Our forbearance can accomplish that with ease. I have no doubt that if the young people bear everything in silence, the elders will relent. But to put up with things and to launch satyagraha is not the way of the coward, but of the brave. This way is not for him who sees in it weakness and cowardice. Hence even if by having resort to the law-courts the by-lanes of Ahmedabad can be improved, the reformers should certainly do so. Great daring is needed to improve those by-lanes, those lavatories, those urinals. I shall not be surprised if a number of youths have to sacrifice their lives for accomplishing this task. Dr. Hariprasad[1] has once again taken the task in hand. If the youths assist him a lot of reform can be brought about. They can attend meetings, stage plays and take out processions. All this is good work and is to be done in a disciplined manner. But they count for little before certain services. The youths themselves should clean the roads. They should clean gutters and drains. We all should know how to work as Bhangis. And what applies to the improvement of by-lanes applies also to many other things. If the students really wish to form themselves into an army for swaraj, they must go beyond the speech-making stage to the action stage. Their reports should contain an account not of how many speeches they delivered and how many plays they staged but instead of or in addition to these of how many lava-

[1] Dr. Hariprasad Vrajrai Desai, physician and Congress worker of Ahmedabad

tories they cleaned, and how many wells in how many villages, how many bunds they built, how many patients they attended on, how much khadi they wove, how many wells or tanks they dug, how many night-schools they conducted and so on.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-6-1929

48. RAW v. *COOKED FOOD*[1]

Some look upon me as a fool, a crank or a faddist. I must admit that wherever I go I am sought out by fools, cranks and faddists. One can conclude from this that I must be having the characteristics of all these three types. Andhra has its fair share of all three. Some mad men come as far as the Udyoga Mandir in Sabarmati. So, when I go to Andhra, how could I escape running into them. But I do not wish, at the present moment, to introduce all the three types to the readers. Among my fads is the one concerning experiments in diet. I wish to present one such faddist, because I have begun the experiment which I wish to describe and which I am undertaking under his influence. His name is Sundaram Gopalrao. He lives in Rajahmundry. He runs an institute of hydropathy and dietetics; I have been told, and I do believe, that many have benefited by his treatment.

This Gopalrao has been living on uncooked food for the last one year. He believes that fire should not touch man's food. The sun is a sustainer, fire is a destroyer. The sun matures food, fire takes away its essence. When food comes in contact with fire, its essence is burnt out. In accordance with this reasoning, he gave up cooked food and after gaining experience he made the experiments on his patients. He holds that the most delicate intestines which digest cooked food will necessarily digest uncooked food as well.

I have believed for many years that one should not eat cooked food. I had given up cooked food at the age of 20, but that state could not last beyond 15 days. I tried it again in the year 1893 in the Transvaal; and then too could not proceed beyond 15 days.

I have been tempted by what Gopalrao says and by his experience and I have commenced at 60 an experiment which I had abandoned out of fear in my youth. In point of results,

[1] *Vide* also pp. 34-6.

the experiment is very important and hence I shall tell the reader what it is. I have lived on raw fruit and dry fruit continuously for six years. But I have not lived for a long time on uncooked cereals and pulses and I have believed that a man like me could not digest it at all.

It is the opinion of contemporary Western medical men that our diet should contain a certain element in the absence of which a man cannot preserve his health. It is known as "vitamin". Vitamin means the vital essence. Chemists cannot detect it by analysis. But health experts have been able to feel its absence. Having studied the effects of many types of diet, they have found out that this vital essence is a necessary thing. They believe that if any vegetable is cooked this essence is destroyed. They have divided this essence into classes. Of them, vitamin A is to be found in leafy vegetables and germinated grains of cereals. Hence they have been recommending for years now the consumption of foods containing vitamins and therefore many people take raw vegetables, pulses, wheat, etc., which have sprouted after being soaked in water.

But many experts hold and Gopalrao cites his own experience in support of it that uncooked and cooked foods should not at all be mixed. If one wants to benefit fully by uncooked food, one must give up cooked food altogether.

I have faith in this argument. This view is becoming stronger day by day. We see support for this view even in the chapter on diets in the book by the T.B. expert, Dr. Muthu.

Apart from health, there is for me a great attraction in this diet. I regard the destruction of even vegetables as violence. Man cannot help such destruction. But despite knowing that, one who believes in the dharma of non-violence will indulge in a minimum of such destruction. Moreover, diet has an intimate connection with physical celibacy. It has been the primary object of all my dietetic experiments to find out which diet is most helpful in the observance of physical *brahmacharya*.

It is also the purpose of all my dietetic experiments to find out which diet can be taken in the least time and at least expense and can fully safeguard health. I saw all this included in Gopalrao's experiment and so I too have plunged into it.

None should hastily copy my experiment. He who has no experience of such experiments should never do so. My experiment has not yet proceeded beyond the initial stage. I cannot even claim that it has succeeded. I do not have Gopalrao's faith. It is not even as simple as he believes it to be. I can say only this

much now about that experiment that I have lost 5½ lb. of weight. I shall not say that I have lost my bodily strength. Since last week my weight has started increasing; I have regained one pound. There has been no obstacle in my incessant activities. Hence I wish to prolong the experiment. I shall keep the reader posted with its results. If medical men having some experience of such diet will communicate their experience to me, I shall be grateful. Now I shall describe my diet: Eight *tolas* of germinating wheat, eight *tolas* of almonds ground to a paste, eight *tolas* of green leafy vegetable crushed, eight sour lemons, five *tolas* of honey.

When I do not take wheat, I take an equal quantity of germinated gram. From this week I have started taking wheat and gram together. I sometimes take the grated kernel of the cocoanut in place of almonds, and, if there is scope, I take dried grapes or some other fruit in addition to the five constituents.

If wheat or gram is soaked in water for 24 hours and then the water is strained and it is then kept in a piece of wet cloth overnight, it sprouts. Salt is not considered necessary in this diet. I do not take it at present. I keep varying the proportion and mixture of wheat and gram. The above proportion is only by way of guidance. I have been taking wheat and gram together for the last three days. There should be no almonds when there is gram because both contain muscle-forming elements. I began with gram but the same purpose is served when it is replaced by *moong*[1] and other pulses. It is possible that wheat can be replaced even by *jowar*[2] and *bajra*[3]. This field is wide and interesting and worthy of development. It is more useful in this poor country. There is a lot of truth in the maxim that our actions are influenced by our food. We have misused the above dictum by exaggerating our food habits to the point of looking upon them as our dharma and further have been fussing about pollution by mere touch. I have believed for forty years that, leaving aside exaggeration, the question of diet is a serious one meriting thought. I thank God because He has given me the good sense and the strength to try my last experiment today, and by means of this article I share with the reader the pleasure I derive from my experiment.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-6-1929

[1] A kind of green gram

[2] & [3] Kinds of millet

49. MY NOTES

WARNING TO ME

When my article entitled "Is This Humanity?"[1] had caused an uproar and I was being inundated with letters, there was one I had preserved because it was written with good intention. It was dated 15-10-1926. As that letter served as a warning to me, I kept it in my file. When every week I open my *Navajivan* papers, my eyes fall on the stanzas from Akha[2] in it. The stanzas are:

Subtle *maya* is a silent sword
Killing pleasantly;
Once she plunges, she will not withdraw,
She eats up a learned scholar from within.
Myriad are the roles she plays,
Taking what form she chooses, where.

If sense perchance dawns in any
Turned scholar, like an innocent She will pray,
A thing that deserves discarding
That itself is made a victim, sings Akha.
Many are the forms that *maya* takes;
We find them displayed wherever we look.

The letter is a long one. It contains an argument against my article. But its gist is this: whether, having fallen a prey to *maya*, I have not committed *adharma* in the name of dharma. I did not feel so at that time and do not today. But what of that? It is indeed true that *maya* sweetly kills. If I have been caught by *maya* and know it, how then can it be *maya*? If a blind man can see, how can we call him a blind man? How can I know when I shall be caught up in *maya*—I who am engrossed in many activities and finding retirement in them? Hence by publishing the above stanzas and describing the context, I gain peace praying to God to save me from *maya*. The thoughtful reader should certainly draw a lesson from this. None should act believing that what I say is gospel truth because I am called a "mahatma". We do not know who a "mahatma" is. It is a good thing that we should subject even a "mahatma's" word to the test by means of our intellect and if it does not stand the test we should discard it.

[1] In eight instalments; *vide* Vols. XXXI and XXXII.

[2] Akha Bhagat, a Gujarati poet

FAMINE IN THE SOUTH

Rajaji has once again made an appeal for funds in this cause. All his work is clear, precise and fruitful. Where the people's hunger and thirst are banished and a man to satisfy this need is available, those who have wealth should make use of it. The readers responded to his first appeal. I am sanguine that they will satisfy his additional demand without delay.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-6-1929

50. A STUDENT

PREM [VIDYALA]YA,
[*June*] *1[6, 192]9*[1]

A student means one who hungers for knowledge. *Vidya* means knowledge that is worth knowing. *Atma* is the only thing worth knowing and so *vidya* is the knowledge of the Self. But to acquire knowledge of the Self, one must study literature, history, geography, arithmetic, etc. These are all means to an end. Knowledge of the alphabet is necessary to get knowledge of these subjects. But we know of persons having such knowledge without the knowledge of the alphabet. Those who know this will not hanker after the knowledge of literature, etc., but they will seek the knowledge of the Self.

The student should forsake all those things which are obstacles in the pursuit of this knowledge and should cultivate what is helpful. The student life of one who understands this never comes to an end and he goes on gaining knowledge while eating, drinking, sleeping, playing, digging, weaving, spinning or doing any other activity. To be able to do this, one must develop a habit of observation. Such a one does not need a group of teachers daily; in other words, he regards the whole world as his teacher and he goes on learning lessons from it.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U. II

[1] Gandhiji reached Prem Vidyalaya on this date.

51. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

June 16, 1929

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. I was somewhat worried after I sent you back but was relieved when I duly received your letter. I hope you had no difficulty in finding out your train and obtaining a seat at Mughalsarai. Did you have to pay more than Rs. 10 for your fare? Keep up your daily lessons in the *Gita*, English and Arithmetic. Write something in your diary every day. Recite the *shlokas* in the presence of someone who knows Sanskrit. Free yourself from all fear. Write to me about father's health. We are all fine. It is, of course, cold here.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. PRABHAVATIBEHN
C/O BABU BRIJKISHORE PRASAD, P.O. SIWAN, DIST. CHHAPRA, BIHAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3351

52. *SPEECH AT PREM VIDYALAYA, TADIKHET*[1]

June 16, 1929

I heard the tale of your woes even before I came here, but the remedy lies in your own hands. Its name is self-purification. We are today weighed down by our own selfishness and parochialism of outlook, we must cast it out. We know how to die for our family but it is time that we learnt to go a step further. We must widen the circle of our love till it embraces the whole village, the village in its turn must take into its fold the district, the district the province, and so on till the scope of our love becomes co-terminous with the world. Our Congress Committees are today in a moribund condition. It should be up to you to rally round the banner of the Congress in your numbers and once more make it throb and pulsate with life. You must cultivate self-confidence and make God your shield. There is none mightier than He. A man who throws himself on God ceases to fear man.

[1] Extracted from Pyarelâl's report under the title "The Almoda Tour II". Gandhiji presided over the anniversary celebration.

In your annual report you have referred to your financial difficulties but I would ask you not to be disappointed by these difficulties but on the contrary to regard them as a blessing in disguise. If the advice of a person with an experience of 40 years of public life and public institutions at his back, as I claim to have got, can have any value for you, take it from me that a little financial stringency instead of being a misfortune to be deplored is a thing to be welcomed as a blessing in disguise by any public institution that really wants to serve the people. I hold that no institution that is worth its salt can be starved for want of funds. More institutions are smothered by opulence than are killed by poverty. Constant dependence on the public for funds teaches an institution the lesson of true humility and keeps it on the alert. On the contrary, an institution that is altogether independent of the public for its support is liable to succumb to inertia and become lax in the performance of its duties. The amount of public support that an institution can command affords a true measure of its utility. I would therefore advise every institution that is faced with financial distress to curtail its activities so as to bring it within compass of its means rather than to keep up appearances by borrowing funds. In the former case the institution though reduced in size will still retain its pristine health, in the latter case its bloated size will only be a sign of its diseased condition. I would therefore earnestly beseech you to keep clear of this fatal error.

I am glad to find that your institution has dedicated itself to khadi work and has given to the spinning-wheel a central position in its activities. But that is not enough. I want you to understand the inner significance of this little wheel and to realize the full potency with which it is charged. Twenty-one years ago I made the discovery, and since then I have never been tired of repeating it in season and out of season that there is no mightier agent for bringing together and tying in an indissoluble bond the teeming millions of India from Peshawar to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to distant Assam than the frail thread that is spun on this spinning-wheel. I would therefore suggest to you that you should not measure its worth in terms of rupees, annas and pies but in terms of the strength that it can generate among the people. Above all I would ask you to keep your faith unsullied and untarnished in this age of scepticism and disbelief and never to lose heart. For remember that whilst it is given to man to strive, it is God alone Who fulfils.

Young India, 27-6-1929

53. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

June 17, 1929

DEAR SATISBABU,

I have your letter. I see you are making steady progress in self-supporting method.

I see also that you have plunged into the uncooked dietary. I do not mind it so long as you can do it well without injuring the body. I have found that pounding injures the vitality and the electricity as Dr. Muthu calls it. It seems that this germinating seed food is as delicate as milk and perhaps equally, if not more, efficacious. It seems never to cause disturbance if taken whole, it does cause disturbance when it is pounded. If you have good teeth insist upon taking the whole seed and the raw vegetable and fruit cleaned and chopped but not pounded. Mastication is an indispensable condition of doing justice to uncooked food. To avoid swallowing let your morsels be small and well chewed, concentrate on that morsel you are chewing and see that it is reduced to a liquid before it passes down the throat. This method may take 45 minutes per meal. Do not grudge that time and have nobody near you at the time save the nearest companions. When you have acquired the habit of proper mastication, you will do your work whilst eating. For, uncooked whole food is clean and dirties nothing and can be carried about and even eaten whilst gently walking. I used to chew my nuts and fruit walking during the marches in the Transvaal. Uncooked food must contain nuts from which you get the oils. Grated undried cocoanut is perhaps the best when you take a pulse which gives you enough protein. Some books were sent to you from Sabarmati. You must go slowly.

With love,

BAPU

[PS.]

Important

I was forgetting your question. If you are summoned to give evidence, of course, you must refuse to give evidence on conscientious grounds. Write out your grounds.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1605

54. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

June 17, 1929

BHAISHRI BEHRAMJI,

I think the 7th of September is a Saturday; if it is, the day suits me. See if you can relieve me the same evening.

Blessings to both of you from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6594

55. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

NAINITAL,
Silence Day, June 17, 1929

SISTERS,

Your responsibilities are increasing fairly rapidly. I send with this a letter from Kishorelal about "An Ideal Bal Mandir". Read it and show it to the teachers. I should like those of you who take interest in the work to get trained up for it. Do so even if that means putting Narandas to a lot of trouble. It is possible to get a more intelligent guide than he, but we shall get everything we want if we cling, as the phrase goes, to the trunk of one tree.

Do your best to make the kitchen a success.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3715

56. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

June 17, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL JOSHI,

I got your letter. I like the decision not to write to anyone for advice. It will be enough if you consult from time to time those who are there. You should also come to decisions quickly. Don't be afraid of making mistakes. One cannot help making some.

You say: "I am well 'today' ". I infer from this that an earlier letter is making its way to me. The letter in front of me is dated the 13th.

You must have received my letter[1] regarding Vallabhbhai's complaint.

We are all happy and in fine spirits. My experiment continues. Kishorelal's letter is meant for the women. You and the teachers also should read it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5422

57. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

June 17, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

I just got your letter. By 'just' I mean at 8.25. I have five minutes before I shall come out of my silence and therefore I write this. It was good that both of you went there. You both needed some rest badly. I have had no rest yet, nor did I expect to have any. They are talking about a week's [rest] after the 22nd and according to the programme I should finish the *Gita* work during this period. Let us see what happens. Here too the collection will be tidy. We do feel your absence. The experience we get here is also not to be dismissed lightly. But we cannot have everything, can we? There you have Vallabhbhai's company which too is just as precious.

[1] Dated June 11; *vide* p. 34.

Yesterday we came to the Prem Vidyalaya. There was a telegram informing us about Jawaharlal's wife's illness; so he left this very day. Kripalani has come. Devdas joined us at Nainital; Brijkisan too is with us. I have a crowd, sure enough.

The rains have given us no trouble yet. The weather is fine. Prabhudas's health is all right.

With what you have sent, [the matter] for *Young India* is enough. I have not been able to send matter for sixteen columns. A major part was supplied by Pyarelal. I wrote to fill about three columns only. We have sent plenty [of matter] for *Navajivan* today. You know, don't you, that I have now undertaken to write every week something for the *Hindi Navajivan* too? From there you can keep an eye on the Ashram. There is a long letter from Surendra. He has come out of his swoon and now clearly sees the taint in his reason and his egotism. He is candid and was bound to see his error some day. He did not need Nath to decide.

It is very good that there you will get a chance to study revenue. I wish you would send a fitting reply.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11452

58. SPEECH TO CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY, ALMORA[1]

June 18, 1929

Gandhiji's reply which opened with a reference to his numerous Christian contacts in India as well as abroad and particularly his close friendly relations with the late Principal Rudra of St. Stephen's College, Delhi, was a feeling appeal to the Indian Christians completely to identify themselves with Indian ideals and Indian nationalist aspirations, and not to regard India's ancient culture and civilization as a relic of barbarism to be looked down upon and despised but to treasure it as a precious heritage that had to be enriched and enlarged. Surely a civilization that had produced such a galaxy of saints and prophets as India had, that boasted of sons like Chaitanya and Tagore and which was built on penance of so many pure souls could not be a thing wholly evil. He held all religions to be true though at the same time no man-expounded religion could claim perfection which was the attribute of God alone. Similarly it was their duty not to disassociate themselves from their fellow-countrymen who professed a different faith from theirs but to cultivate

[1] In reply to their address at the Church grounds

an attitude of sympathy and broad tolerance towards them, to understand and appreciate their viewpoint and to help them not by proselytizing them but by making Hindus better Hindus, Mussalmans better Mussalmans and all of them better Indians.

Young India, 27-6-1929

59. TELEGRAM TO SWAMI[1]

[On or after *June 18, 1929*][2]

SWAMI
CARE SHREE
BOMBAY

REFUSE TERMS DHOLKA LAND IF TANNING PROHIBITED.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 15402

60. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Wednesday [*June 19, 1929*][3]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL JOSHI,

I have your letter. The problem of Chhaganlal is a delicate one. Discuss it personally with me. Not many days are left now.

I can offer some advice about Dahyabhai if I know whether he lives with his wife and, if yes, in what manner. Discuss this problem, too, with me after I return. I certainly wish to keep him.

Since you have written to Satyamurti, I am not writing to him. What you have written is all right.

Don't let your health suffer. The programme here is practically over. Only one place remains now. Letters, however,

[1] & [2] In reply to Chhaganlal Gandhi's telegram dated June 18 from Sabarmati which read: "Gorakshamandal meeting this afternoon unwilling incur any expense. Rent thousand rupees likely. Oppose tanning. May agree on undertaking not tan [on] their land. Purushottamdas anxious help. Advises acceptance. Offers raise rent amount. Wire Swami Care Shree." *Vide* also the following item and pp. 79-80.

[3] As given in the source

must be addressed to Almora. If I take rest, I can reach the place on 6th July, otherwise on June 30. I have not been able to decide what to do. I am really keen on finishing the *Gita*. I feel inclined to stay at one place for six days and do that. I must decide in a day or two.

I should indeed like it very much if you learn to work on your own responsibility. I shall take no objection if you inform me only about those things which you think it necessary to bring to my notice.

If Krishnamaiyadevi[1] wishes to go to Darjeeling, certainly let her do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am inclined to dispose of the land near Thana. Find out what Chhaganlal says about the matter. Write to Hirji afterwards and tell him to do what you think best about it.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro -7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 117

61. *KHADI AND BOYCOTT*

Our disbelief is an extraordinary phenomenon. We have no faith in our ability to do anything. If it is total prohibition it is regarded as impossible. Hindu-Muslim unity is a day-dream. Removal of untouchability in the face of Sanatanist opposition is unthinkable. Boycott of foreign cloth through mills we did not achieve, through khadi we cannot achieve. There thus remains nothing that we can possibly do. Hence swaraj is an impossible proposition and slavery our natural condition. This is a most debasing state for anyone to be in.

Our disbelief is the greatest stumbling-block in our march towards swaraj. Let us just examine the proposition that boycott cannot be achieved through khadi. It is said that khadi production is not enough for our wants. Those who talk or write thus do not know the A B C of khadi. Khadi is capable of infinite expansion because it can be as easily made as bread if we have the will. I need not go into the economics of khadi for the purposes of boycott. Supposing England and Japan ceased to send

[1] Widow of a Congress worker from Nepal; Gandhiji gave her and her children shelter in the Ashram.

us their cloth and our mills somehow or other could not work, we would not think of the economics of khadi but we would simply manufacture the required quantity in our own homes. The merchants who had lost their piecegoods trade would all be occupied in khadi production. It is only because we have created a vicious atmosphere of impotence round ourselves that we consider ourselves to be helpless even for the simplest possible things. But for our hopelessness, there is no reason why we should not feel that what Bijolia has been able to do without the stress and incentive of boycott, we should certainly do under the great and patriotic incentive. It is being done today in Bardoli on such a scale that the technical department is unable fully to cope with the demand for wheels and accessories.

Undoubtedly the movement will fall flat if everybody becomes a critic and bystander and nobody says, "It is my business." This movement depends for its success upon the willing and organized co-operation of millions. This co-operation can be had for the asking if the thinking class will put their hands to the wheel with the fixed determination to succeed. Let them remember that this is a movement which has a growing and vigilant organization with a modest capital. It has only to be worked by the nation to its fullest capacity and success is a certainty.

Let it be remembered that there is no other constructive scheme before the nation for effective action on a universal scale. I have repeatedly pointed out in these pages how production of khadi can be indefinitely increased. I have described the three methods, viz., spinning for hire, spinning for self and spinning for sacrifice.[1] Once the spirit of true sacrifice seizes the nation, it is possible to inundate the market with hand-spun yarn. And I have shown that the secret of khadi production lies in increased production of yarn. There are over ninety-seven lakhs of pupils studying in all the schools of India. It makes a miserable percentage of less than 4 per cent of the total population, but the number is enough for easy organization of sacrificial spinning. This figure takes no account of several other institutions that can be also similarly organized without much effort, if the determination is reached that we must achieve boycott through khadi.

Young India, 20-6-1929

[1] *Vide* pp. 2-3; also Vol. XL, p. 431.

62. *NOTES*

Sheth Jamnalalji's Action

As a self-respecting man, Sheth Jamnalalji could not have acted otherwise than he had in reply to the request of the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to deliver the copy in his possession of Pandit Sunderlalji's *History of British Rule*. He rightly regards the action of the U.P. Government as "high-handed and tyrannical" and house searches all over India as "highly insulting, objectionable and vindictive". He claims to have read the book which in his opinion is "unobjectionable and a praiseworthy endeavour to inculcate the lesson of non-violence". The action of the police in searching his house and offices in spite of his assurance that the book was not in any of them affords additional justification, if such was wanted, for the language used by him. The object of the search was clearly not to find the book but to insult Jamnalalji. The proper answer to this insult is for everyone who has Pandit Sunderlal's volume in his possession to inform the police in his or her district and the Press of such possession and challenge search or prosecution or both. If this course is adopted by the public and if there are many copies still untraced, the Government will soon discover that it will make of itself a laughing-stock by continuing the fruitless searches of numberless houses. Searches, imprisonments and the like are effective only so long as they frighten people.

"Gita" in National Schools

A correspondent asks whether *Gita* may be compulsorily taught in national schools to all boys whether Hindus or non-Hindus. When I was travelling in Mysore two years ago I had occasion to express my sorrow that the Hindu boys of a high school did not know the *Gita*.[1] I am thus partial to the teaching of the *Gita* not only in national schools but in every educational institution. It should be considered a shame for a Hindu boy or girl not to know the *Gita*. But my insistence stops short at compulsion, especially so for national schools. Whilst it is true that *Gita* is a book of universal religion, it is a claim which cannot be forced upon anyone. A Christian or a Mussalman or a Parsi may reject the claim or may advance the same claim for the Bible, the Koran or the Avesta as the case may be. I fear that *Gita* teaching cannot be

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXIV, p. 395.

made compulsory even regarding all those who may choose to be classed as Hindus. Many Sikhs and Jains regard themselves as Hindus but may object to compulsory *Gita* teaching for their boys and girls. The case will be different for sectional schools. I should hold it quite appropriate for a Vaishnava school for instance to lay down *Gita* as part of religious instruction. Every private school has the right to prescribe its own course of instruction. But a national school has to act within well-defined limits. There is no compulsion where there is no interference with a right. No one can claim the right to enter a private school, every member of a nation has the right presumptively to enter a national school. Hence what would be regarded in the one case as a condition of entrance would in the other be regarded as compulsion. The *Gita* will never be universal by compulsion from without. It will be so if its admirers will not seek to force it down the throats of others and if they will illustrate its teachings in their own lives.

A Contradiction

The reader will recall a paragraph[1] I gave to a letter from an Andhra correspondent who had complained that the ladies at the women's meeting at Tanuku had a purificatory bath after the meeting under the belief that the *Antyaja* girl Lakshmi was with me at that meeting. Two correspondents have sent letters energetically protesting that the charge is wholly false. I gladly reproduce one of the letters:[2]

> We were all surprised to read your note in *Young India* for the 16th instant entitled "Untouchability" about the ladies' meeting at Tanuku. The remarks are justified if what your correspondent wrote is true. But I am sorry to say your correspondent has erred grievously. . . .
>
> I was at the place of the meeting as the ladies of my family had been to the meeting. I am a Brahmin and my ladies have not had a purificatory bath. I know many ladies who attended and they assured me they never contemplated such a thing. . . . Some might have bathed as they had to cook the evening meals. But to suggest that they did this to purify themselves from the touch of a so-called untouchable is a gross libel.

Both the correspondents have given their names. I have no reason to disbelieve their statements and I am sorry for hurting the feelings of the ladies who attended the meeting. I had the name of the correspondent who had made the charge now contradicted. I have therefore written to him to inquire how he came

[1] *Vide* Vol. XL, pp. 381-2.
[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

to make the serious charge. It is a matter of joy to me that ladies nowadays resent the imputation that they would regard as pollution the presence of the so-called untouchables at meetings attended by them.

Young India, 20-6-1929

63. A FEW QUESTIONS

A gentleman has asked me some questions. This letter begins with praise of me. He has described me as completely free from fear and ill will, a perfect *tyagi*[1] and a perfect satyagrahi. Such adjectives are nearly always used in addresses, but as addresses are given to exaggeration their use there may be considered excusable. But the use of such adjectives in letters is unpardonable and discourteous. It is uncivilized to praise a man to his face. I have noticed such praise specially in Hindi letters. That's why I have mentioned it here. In fact I am not completely free from fear and ill will nor am I a perfect satyagrahi or a perfect *tyagi*. If you take the word 'satyagrahi' in its literal sense, I could perhaps be considered a perfect satyagrahi, because it is easy to insist on truth after we have understood its value. One must also remember that insisting on truth is not the same thing as following truth. I am fully aware that I am not completely free from fear and ill will or a perfect *tyagi*. Mere external *tyaga* cannot make one perfect in these respects. Internal *tyaga* is a highly difficult affair and I cannot claim at all that my heart is free from fear, ill will and the like. It is true that my constant endeavour is to master my mind. But the difference between effort and achievement is as great as that between earth and sun. Therefore no one should think that I can never be wrong. I try to see things dispassionately —with a mind cleansed of all impurity, and say only what I so see. But one is free to reject it if it does not appeal to one's reason. Blind faith has caused us great harm. I don't wish others to have blind faith in me, I wish to avoid it. It is a barrier in my way. I will now discuss the questions put by this gentleman. He and other readers can give them intelligent consideration.

This is the first question:

> What are the ways and means needed to develop spiritual strength apart from listening to or recitation of scriptures? I mean the kind of spiritual strength Prahlad and others had.

[1] One who has renounced the fruit of action

It is difficult, if not impossible, to acquire spiritual strength if we totally ignore listening or recitation. Hearing pious things serves as the spark to light the fire of awakening during the time when the soul is asleep. However, with the attainment of the inner seeing—the intuition—the need to hear good things vanishes. Prahlad had this capacity of inner hearing in an abundant measure. For the common man the outer hearing is the first step.

The second question is this:

> Is there no way of dealing with the problem of widows in India except remarriage which lowers the banner of chastity—a way which will safeguard their virtue and at the same time enable them to participate in work for the country? In India there are more girls than boys and more widows than widowers. How then can this problem be solved by remarriage?

To say that widow remarriage leads to loss of chastity is wrong. To forcibly prevent a widow from remarrying, when she wishes to do so, would be harming chastity and dharma as well. Only by marrying a child-widow can we safeguard dharma and chastity. We can safeguard *brahmacharya* only by respecting the widows, by providing them means of education, and by granting them full freedom to remarry. Mental and physical prostitution is widespread today and the reason for this is the coercion used against widows. It cannot be proved that there are more girls than boys or more widows than widowers. It is true of a few castes. It is however to be desired that the too many castes now existing should disappear. There can be no more castes than the four *varnas*. The Hindu Shastras do not authorize the existence of the innumerable castes found today. It may be that the multiplication of castes served some useful purpose. But today castes serve no purpose and meet no need.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 20-6-1929

64. SPEECH AT ALMORA

June 20, 1929

I have noted what you wanted to tell me in your addresses. But at the moment my heart is with Padam Singh the man who was crushed under the car when he came to see me. The doctor had hoped that he would survive and I had shared this hope. But his life-thread has snapped. I have done a great deal of travelling and I have been doing it for the past many, many years. I have taken part in many gatherings and in order to do this I have travelled a lot by car but in my old age this is the first time such an unhappy incident has taken place. I will never be able to get over it. I believe that I have no fear of death. All of us have to die one day. Padam Singh has become immortal by meeting his death in this manner. My unhappiness stems from the fact that I became the cause of his death. I have always felt that riding in cars makes men proud. The chauffeurs who drive are vain and hot-tempered. One should beware of drivers with a hot temper. But under the illusion that I will be able to serve better I continue to use cars. I have reaped the fruit today. And yet I cannot promise to give up the use of cars, as I cannot give up the fond desire to serve the country. I must therefore content myself with expressing my sorrow at this meeting. The chauffeurs should remember that they must not be easily excited. I could see that the driver of this car had a hot temper. Padam Singh forgave him and gave a generous statement before the magistrate. But I do not consider myself or the driver free from blame. The unforgivable fact is that I should have got down in that crowd and it was the duty of the driver not to drive fast. But that's what he did. How can I forget this sad fact? Padam Singh was brave. Yesterday he was able to talk without effort. But to die thus was his fate and it was my misfortune to witness his death, and now he is gone. I would like you to learn a lesson from this incident. Caught in the jaws of Death we are like puppets in the hands of Fate, more delicate than a piece of yarn. In a short while we all have to depart from this world. Then why stray from the path of duty? Why waste time in anger and in pleasure-seeking?

In your address you say that you want freedom and swaraj for India. You have also mentioned that swaraj can only be attained through peaceful means. You must therefore remember

that your work should be faultless. It is easy to make it so. The District Board address mentions that young pupils do spinning. I would like to congratulate you on this. You have said that you spend as much as 60 per cent of your income on education and that you consider even this insufficient. Since you are working hard in the field of education I would like to speak to you of my experience.

Even if we have crores of rupees it is impossible to impart education in India in this way. Education should pay for itself. That is, we should not have to spend any money on it. If we are successful in doing this we will be able to achieve two things. Firstly, we shall save money and secondly, we shall impart true education. The education given to our boys and girls today makes them unmindful of their morals, unhealthy and restless, whereas by making education self-sustaining we will be making them mentally poised and morally excellent. I would request the District Board to try this out in two or three schools. There is no doubt in my mind that you will be successful.

I am grateful for the purse. As to the few presents given to me, you know now that I do not require such presents and I cannot accept them for my personal use. If I do so I shall stray from the right path and it will also detract from my fitness as a leader. I will make an exception of the fan and the *asana*[1] presented by the District Board. There is a small museum in the Ashram where the latter will be kept as a memento of the love and industry of the boys. I will lovingly use the shawl in winter and remember the boys who have made it even though I don't know their names. I would request those who have not given their contributions to do so now. You should know what the money will be used for. It will be used for financing the spinning and weaving work among the poor—among such poor folks who are even poorer than the poorest among you. There are about a crore of such people in the country whose one and only meal in the day consists of dry *roti* and salt. I call them *Daridranarayana.* It is only for them you have given your contribution.

I know that the coolie or *begar* system came to an end in 1921 and I hope you will stop being afraid of anyone whosoever he may be—a high officer or an Englishman. If we follow our own path why should we be afraid? Fear is a barrier in the way of swaraj. There is no more time. But I will ask for some time to bargain with you. I was asked not to auction these things.

[1] Something to sit on

But I hope there are people here who can afford to pay and buy them. There are two more points I ought not to omit. The Nayaka community here commits *adharma* in the name of dharma. They get their women to lead an evil life. I would request them respectfully to refrain from this *adharma*. It can only cause harm to them and the country. Their girls ought to get married and be educated. No woman in this world was born to lead the life of vice. Each woman ought to become as pure as Sita. Likewise untouchability is a stain on us. It is our duty as Hindus to wipe it off. I am thankful that Hindus, Muslims, Christians and other communities here live in amity.

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 4-7-1929

65. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU[1]

[On or after *June 20, 1929*]

YOUR WIRE. 5TH JULY DELHI WILL SUIT SO AS ENABLE ME LEAVE NIGHT TRAIN. HOW IS KAMALA?

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15403

66. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[*June 21, 1929*][2]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I am nestling in the lap of the Himalayas; and this king of seers clad in white is lost in delight while taking a sun-bath. His trance is enviable. It stings me that you are not here to share my envy. But your place is there. Thus the pain of the sting is blunted.

Today I begin the end of my work on the *Gita* which is still to be completed.

[1] In reply to the addressee's telegram of June 19 from Allahabad received at Almora on June 20, wherein Gandhiji had been asked to wire date and place suitable for Working Committee meeting to consider Council work

[2] Gandhiji resumed his work on the *Gita* on June 21, 1929 immediately after arriving at Kausani; *vide* also pp. 61-2.

It is all right that you have become the President. You must associate yourself with work of this kind.

Tell Vallabhbhai that he must not budge from there before he is hale and hearty. Do not insist on showing me everything that you write for *Young India*. It does not matter if you commit mistakes.

I don't like Sunderlal's throwing off the burden. I must have a look at his book, whether Gujarati or English, which you write about.

If I write any more that would amount to an affront to the *Gita* and Kaka.

I can stand the luxury of this place only if I give a major part of my time to the *Gita*.

We will be leaving here on Tuesday the 2nd.

Blessings from
BAPU

PS.

On the 5th the Working Committee is [meeting] at Delhi and on the 6th night [I shall be] at the Ashram.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11453

67. *TELEGRAM TO PRESIDENT, CONGRESS COMMITTEE, KARIMGANJ*[1]

[On or after *June 22, 1929*]

WIRE INCOMPLETE. WHO ARE YOU? GIVE DATE FLOOD. HAVE NO FUNDS TO SEND. IF I GET AUTHENTIC PARTICULARS CAN SEND REPRESENTATIVE INVESTIGATE. THEN IF NECESSARY CAN MAKE APPEAL.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15404

[1] In reply to the addressee's telegram dated June 20 received at Nainital on June 22, which read: "Devastating flood throughout Karimganj Assam rendered thousands homeless. People sheltered railway embankment hills. Five hundred square miles affected. All communication dislocated. Deaths reported various quarters. Cattle washed away. Shortage flood staff threatens death starvation. Congress Committee commenced relief. Appeal funds one lakh. Pray remit ten thousand immediately."

68. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

[On or after *June 22, 1929*][1]

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
ROYAL EXCHANGE
CALCUTTA

CAN YOU SEND REPRESENTATIVE INVESTIGATE DAMAGE DONE BY FLOODS KARIMGANJ ASSAM?

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15404

69. THE CONGRESS AND KHADI

Shri Chinoy writes:[2]

We are reaping as we have sown. As we have been indifferent in doing khadi propaganda, we are facing a difficult situation today. I shall never advise enrolment of members by keeping the people in the dark. On the contrary, I would not even say bluntly to those people: 'You become members, but you will not get voting rights until you wear khadi.' I would put in their hands a pamphlet for the purpose of explaining the position. I would include in it the Congress provisions concerning khadi and set out the benefits and explain their duty of becoming members. Our aim is not to frighten the people away but to attract them to the Congress. The problem relating to students and lawyers is a difficult one. They do understand everything. If they do not like khadi, how can they be convinced? Or I would say to them: 'If you believe in the Congress as a great force and not in khadi, join the Congress, wear khadi if only to observe the rules and try to get the khadi clause abrogated. Congress work is carried on

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent, who was the Secretary of the Surat City Congress Committee, had stated that they had decided to enrol 1,750 members. There were at the time only 70 khadi-wearing members on the register. The rule that no member who did not wear khadi could vote or fill executive positions in the Committee stood in the way of enrolment. The president of the local Youth League, too, had declined to enrol himself for this reason. The correspondent could not enrol members keeping them in the dark about this condition. So what was he to do?

by majority opinion; hence, submit to the khadi clause until it is abolished and be proud to be its members.' I would say that those who do not understand even this much are not fit to remain in the Congress or any other organization because they do not appreciate the first condition of remaining in any organization—submitting to rules. They behave as if they were obliging the organization they join. Such patrons cannot serve the Congress and no help will be forthcoming from them in winning swaraj. Whichever organization they happen to be in, they will be a burden to it. It is the workers' duty to appeal to lawyers and students, but if they cannot be brought round ultimately, we should do without them. I would only appeal to that category not to insist on the condition described by Shri Chinoy.

Our real task is to reach the classes we have neglected so far. They are the merchants, craftsmen, farmers and labourers. I believe that these classes will not advance the argument which the president of the Youth League is believed to have offered. A bulletin meant for them would contain a short history of the Congress from its inception up to date, an account of its main activities and the benefits of joining the organization. ·Whether they become members or not, such a movement itself constitutes the political education of the people. It is my firm belief that where the Congress volunteers have been working and they are known, there should be no difficulty in enrolling the said classes as Congress members.

Now there remains the last question: What if, after everything is done, people do not enrol themselves because of the khadi clause? In that case, this matter should be communicated to the Congress and we should get the khadi clause rescinded. Or if they themselves value khadi as much as swaraj, they should have patience till the people begin to believe in khadi. Do we not have in India people who say that they do not want swaraj? Again, if swaraj is interpreted to mean independence, more people will get alarmed. Even if this happens, those to whom swaraj is their life-breath will not relax the condition relating to swaraj.

I am personally neutral on the khadi clause. Khadi is the very breath of life to me. Hence I wish to see khadi wherever I am. But I do not wish to insist on retaining the khadi clause in the Congress constitution. If my other colleagues do not have as much faith in khadi as I have and if, in their opinion, that clause hampers the work of the Congress, then the khadi clause had better be repealed. Khadi propaganda will be continued even despite that. And my belief will remain unshaken forever that

swaraj will come near us by as many yards as the number of yards of khadi by which we step up its production. To my mind, swaraj without khadi is as unthinkable as a barren woman having a son, because it would be no swaraj at all for the millions.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-6-1929

70. MAURYA EMPIRE AND UNTOUCHABILITY

A reader sends the following extract[1] which is worth knowing.

The reader has culled the extract from *Maurya Samrajya ka Itihas*. It shows that the revolt against untouchability is not a novel phenomenon of recent date. Our ancestors too have fought against it. That poisonous tree deserves to be destroyed root and branch.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-6-1929

71. A SUGGESTION CONCERNING "NAVAJIVAN"

A lover of *Navajivan* writes:[2]

I do not want to oppose this suggestion. I had laid down the scope of *Navajivan* when it became a weekly and came into my charge. And that was because of my inability. Purveying news is also an art. I had cultivated it specially for *Indian Opinion*. I used to give maximum news in minimum space and I had trained my associates to do so. This was necessary there. The task of *Navajivan* here was of a different sort. There is no dearth of newspapers here, hence we had no desire to issue *Navajivan* as a newspaper. Through it, satyagraha, ahimsa, etc., were to be

[1] This is not translated here. According to it, Chandragupta Maurya had 18 ministers of whom the first was a Brahmin. Among the enumeration of this minister's powers, there is this injunction of Chanakya's: "If any Brahmin minister, so ordered, declines to teach the Vedas to an untouchable or refuses to perform a sacrifice for him, he should be dismissed from his post."

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested that just as *Indian Opinion* carried a column or two of news, so should *Navajivan*, and be a complete journal, as the number of people in this country who could afford to buy two papers were very few. He wanted foreign as well as Indian news to be given. He had requested Gandhiji to elicit the opinion of other readers on the subject.

propagated. It has succeeded fairly well in doing so. In trying to convert *Navajivan* into a newspaper also, there was the risk of having both aims defeated. That risk is present even today. Moreover, I am now older by over ten years; hence I cannot do that by myself. If I decide to give news, I shall have to increase the cost of producing *Navajivan*, its size too will perhaps have to be increased and fresh competent men will have to be employed whose only job will be to process news. A man of ordinary ability cannot make an abstract of news. Therefore, providing news is not such an easy thing as the lover of *Navajivan* believes.

Although I believe that the task of providing news is a difficult one, I do not wish to reject this suggestion outright. Hence, I ask for the readers' opinion in brief on the following questions:

1. Do you approve of the suggestion made by the lover of *Navajivan*?

2. If you do, do you believe in the necessity of increasing its size or will you be satisfied with its present size?

3. Do you not get the desired news by reading other newspapers in addition to *Navajivan*?

It will do even if the reader sends me his replies to these three questions on a postcard. He should superscribe at top left corner on the postcard or envelope the words "about *Navajivan*", so that the communication will surely reach me. I hope no readers make the mistake of believing that I read every letter addressed to me by name. Only those letters are passed on to me which my colleagues believe that I ought to read.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-6-1929

72. *TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU*[1]

[On or after *June 23, 1929*]

NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

YOUR WIRE. I CERTAINLY MEANT[2] FIFTH NOT FIFTEENTH.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15405

[1] In reply to the addressee's telegram received on June 23

[2] *Vide* p. 72.

73. *LETTER TO MIRABEHN*

June 24, 1929

CHI. MIRA[1],

It is well you do not want me to speak to you tomorrow on the incident. But I did want, after witnessing the exhibition, to reduce to writing my thoughts. I do that now.

The exhibition is proof of the correctness of my statement. None else would have felt like committing suicide over a simple innocent remark of mine. You want to be with me in my tours occasionally, it is true; you want to come to the Ashram leaving your work at least every four months. You recognize these desires as limitations. I make allowance for them. But why feel disturbed when I tell you what I feel to be the truth that they are not themselves the disease, but they are symptoms of a deep-seated disease which has not been touched. If you were not what I have described you to be, you would rejoice over my drawing attention to the disease and courageously strive to overcome it. Instead, you simply collapsed, much to my grief and anxiety.

This disease is idolatry. If it is not, why hanker after my company! Why touch or kiss the feet that must one day be dead cold? There is nothing in the body. The truth I represent is before you. Experience and effort will unravel it before you, never my association in the manner you wish. When it comes in the course of business you will, like others, gain from it and more because of your devotion. Why so helplessly rely on me? Why do everything to please me? Why not independently of me and even in spite of me? I have put no restrictions on your liberty, save those you have welcomed. Break the idol to pieces if you can and will. If you cannot, I am prepared to suffer with you. But you must give me the liberty to issue warnings.

My diagnosis may be wrong. If so, it is well. Strive with me cheerfully instead of being nerve-broken. Everyone but you takes my blows without being unstrung.

If your effort has hitherto failed, what does it matter? You have hitherto dealt mechanically with symptoms. There you have had considerable success. But if I say you have not been able to touch the root, why weep over it? I do not mind your

[1] The superscription in this and other letters to Mirabehn is in Devanagari.

failures. They are but stepping-stones to success. You must rise from this torpor never to fall into it again.

I have done. May God be with you.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5378. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9434

74. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Silence Day [June 24, 1929][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL (JOSHI),

I got your letters.

In front of me are Himalayan peaks wrapped in snow and shining brilliantly in sunlight. Below are hills clad with greenery, as though, feeling shy, they had covered their bodies with it. The solitude of the place is beyond description. We are to stay here for seven or eight days. I can permit myself such luxury only if there is some pretext for it. This was provided by Kaka and the arrangement was also suggested by him. He had entrusted the task to Devdas and Prabhudas, and I accepted this luxury after deciding to give practically all my time to the *Gita*. I wish, therefore, to write the fewest possible letters this week and also do the minimum work for *Young India*. Accordingly, I have decided to suspend routine correspondence.

What remains of what you want I shall give you immediately I arrive there. Keep yourself ready. Note down all the things about which you wish to consult me. Think and decide who will do in your absence the work that you are doing. It would be good if Ramniklal agrees to do it. Also think and decide where you wish to go for rest.

Many boys do what Katto and others do. Giriraj is of course responsible for his faults. His letter throws a new light on the matter.

If possible, we should dispose of the Thana land. The other conditions of Dholka, we can accept but not the prohibition of tanning.[2] We may have connection with a dairy which does no tanning, but owning a goshala [is a different matter]. '*Dhuni*' for 'faddist' is quite correct.

[1] This appears to have been written on the first silence day after Gandhiji's arrival at Kausani.

[2] *Vide* also "Telegram to Swami", p. 63.

Vaydo—"Stupidly obstinate"
Chakram—"Madcap"

Are there two d's in the English word?

I have read Kakasaheb's draft and am returning it. I only expressed my view as a member. You may include the names which all of you approve.

You should send to Subbiah his usual pay. We have given him to Rajaji as interest-free loan.

There are many spelling and other mistakes in the copy of the telegram to Swami. I hope the wire was not sent with all mistakes.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I shall leave this place on the 2nd. On the 5th in Delhi, and on 6th morning or evening, in the Ashram. Send the mail to me only as long as I am at Almora.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5426

75. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Silence Day [June 24, 1929][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. It is good that you observe the rules. Discuss everything with Father at length. We are in a secluded spot and we are going to spend eight days here. I will not write more as I want to finish [the work] on the *Gita*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3350

[1] From the reference to "the work on the *Gita*"; *vide* also the preceding item and p. 81.

76. TELEGRAM TO DR. M. A. ANSARI[1]

[On or after *June 24, 1929*]

DR. ANSARI
DARYAGUNJ
DELHI

PRAY THANK HIS HIGHNESS FOR INVITATION. DO NOT CONSIDER POSSIBLE VISIT BHOPAL BEFORE SEPTEMBER. MUST REACH ASHRAM 6TH JULY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15406

77. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

June 25, 1929

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter yesterday after I had posted one[2] to you. You must get rid of your cough. The vaids usually have some ordinary medicine for it, as also the doctors. You can take it from either. Have your throat examined by a doctor. Has Jayaprakash left America? If his arrival is postponed or if he has come and agrees, you can come to the Ashram and finish your [study of the] *Gita* and English. In the meanwhile you should analyse every single word from the Hindi translation and know its meaning. In this way you will surely avoid some of your errors of pronunciation.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

We shall leave here on the 2nd and reach the Ashram on the 6th.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3349

[1] In reply to his telegram dated June 23 from Lahore received at Almora on June 24

[2] *Vide* p. 80.

78. TELEGRAM TO KLOETZU[1]

[On or after *June 26, 1929*]

REACHING ASHRAM SIXTH. DIFFICULT MEET ANYWHERE TILL THEN.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15408

79. A QUAINT ADDRESS

Among the Andhra notes still lying unattended to I find the following extracts from a quaint but instructive address presented by the working hands of S. L. N. Factory, Nallagaka:

> It was in the year 1916 we could see for the first time our cotton being ginned by foreign mechanism driven by steam power. Till then ginning cotton in these parts was done by hand-gins when we had work enough for three months of summer to feed ourselves and our children. Our factory can now gin the produce of 20 villages and only a limited number of us are allowed to work.
>
> About the year 1920 when you were beginning to revive hand-spinning in storm-beaten and almost worn-out Northern India, there were few among agricultural and labour classes in these parts who could buy cloth for daily use. Eight years have rolled by. Mill-yarn has appeared in the market. Its cheapness and evenness have attracted us. Self-spinning has lost its importance. We have almost come to the stage of buying cloth, woven mainly out of mill-yarn by local weavers majority of whom come from the suppressed. We still consider mill-made cloth and foreign cloth to be a matter of luxury only fit to be used by Brahmin and Vaishya communities, the foremost to adopt foreign cloth for daily use. We have still belief in the quality of khadi cloth and always prefer that if available at a reasonable price.
>
> We generally use in these parts eight-spoke charkha with an iron axis, all complete, costing Rs. 6, hand-gin costs Rs. 1-8-0, the cost of 20 *tolas* of seedless cotton as. 4, spindle costs Re. 0-0-6, carding charge for 52 *tolas* of cotton as. 6 to 8, spinning 20 *tolas* costs as. 2, arranging

[1] In reply to his telegram dated June 24 from Ahmedabad received at Almora on June 26, which read: "Please wire Ashram where when can I meet you this week."

yarn to make cloth of $30' \times 27''$ is as. 3, weaving charge of cloth $30' \times 27''$ Re. 1, male dhoti measures $10\frac{1}{2}' \times 30''$ weighing nearly 30 *tolas*; and female sari measures $30' \times 30''$ weighing nearly 140 *tolas*. Carding is done by a professional carder, carding and weaving charges are often paid in *cholam* grain, the chief food crop of the district. The labourer gets his cotton as wages when picking up cotton from fields. Fortunately your visit to these parts has happened in a spinning season. You can see some of the villagers, quite illiterate of the present-day civilization, still plying their charkhas.

Though our number is small (only 50) we represent the important religions of the district, besides almost all communities and their sub-sections among Hindus. We observe untouchability as regards food and drinking water. One community of Hindus do not even drink water from the hands of another. Among the suppressed there are more than four sub-sections. One sub-section of them does not allow another to touch even drinking well. These suppressed classes are made to live outside the villages and their chief occupation is scavenging, spinning, weaving and shoemaking.

Muharram festival in these parts (we speak only of the villages) is mainly conducted by Hindu funds and help. Mohammedans help Hindus in celebrating Hindu festivals. In processions some of them actually carry on their shoulders Hindu idols. Hindus worship Muslim saints and are called by Mohammedan names, and Mohammedans worship Hindu gods and are called by Hindu names. Though this is all through our illiteracy we seem to follow the Sanskrit saying:

आकाशात्पतितं तोयं यथा गच्छति सागरम् ।
सर्वदेवनमस्कारः केशवं प्रति गच्छति ॥[1]

Buffalo is the chief milk-producer and cow is scarcely reared for milking. Oxen used for agriculture are imported from Northern Circars. We have not got sufficient pasture land, and it is one of the chief reasons why the agriculturist does not welcome the cow.

Drink evil, on a large scale, exists among labourers and agriculturists. God bless us, none of us are habitual drunkards. Malaria, typhoid, cholera hold their sway for nearly three months in the year.

Strikes, A.I.S.A., Congress, swaraj, Hindu-Muslim question, these are all words or phrases; we the villagers in general do not understand. None try to explain them for us, nor are we literate enough to know them.

We have all today assembled here to request you to accept our few coppers which may be of use in your public work and some samples of cotton and its products for your information about the qualities available here.

[1] "Just as water falling from the skies reaches the sea, so also the worship to all the gods reaches Keshava."

We further demand your prayer to Almighty for our sound health, so that we may daily labour to earn our bread honestly.

I have tried to make the language more readable than it is in the original. Its merit lies in its directness, its sense of humour and its perception of the true situation in spite of adverse circumstances. It is wonderful how even those whose interests are opposed to the message of the spinning-wheel do not fail to perceive its truth. It shows how the so-called higher classes are responsible for the ruin of the supplementary occupation of millions and therefore for their semi-starvation. The remarks about untouchability and Hindu-Muslim relations are no less instructive.

Young India, 27-6-1929

80. *SEXUAL PERVERSION*

Some years ago the Bihar Government in its education department had an inquiry into the question of unnatural vice in its schools, and the Committee of Inquiry had found the existence of the vice even among teachers who were abusing their position among their boys in order to satisfy their unnatural lust. The Director of Education had issued a circular prescribing departmental action on such vice being found to exist in connection with any teacher. It would be interesting to know the results, if any, issuing from the circular.

I have had literature too sent to me from other provinces inviting my attention to such vice and showing that it was on the increase practically all over India in public as well as private schools. Personal letters received from boys have confirmed the information.

Unnatural though the vice is, it has come down to us from times immemorial. The remedy for all secret vice is most difficult to find. And it becomes still more difficult when it affects guardians of boys which the teachers are. "If the salt loses its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?" In my opinion departmental action, necessary as it is in all proved cases, can hardly meet the case. The levelling up of public opinion alone can cope with the evil. But in most matters there is no such thing as effective public opinion in this country. The feeling of helplessness that pervades political life has affected all other departments. We therefore pass by many a wrong that is being perpetrated in front of us.

A system of education that puts an exclusive emphasis on literary equipment not only is ill-adapted to deal with the evil

but actually results in promoting it. Boys who were clean before they went to public schools have been found to have become unclean, effeminate and imbecile at the end of their school course. The Bihar Committee has recommended the "instilling into the minds of boys a reverence for religion". But who is to bell the cat? The teachers alone can teach reverence for religion. But they themselves have none. It is therefore a question of a proper selection of teachers. But a proper selection of teachers means either a much higher pay than is now given or reversion to teaching not as a career but as a lifelong dedication to a sacred duty. This is in vogue even today among Roman Catholics. The first is obviously impossible in a poor country like ours. The second seems to me to be the only course left open. But that course is not open to us under a system of government in which everything has a price and which is the costliest in the world.

The difficulty of coping with the evil is aggravated because the parents generally take no interest in the morals of their children. Their duty is done when they send them to school. The outlook before us is thus gloomy. But there is hope in the fact that there is only one remedy for all evil, *viz.*, general purification. Instead of being overwhelmed by the magnitude of the evil, each one of us must do the best one can by the scrupulous attention to one's own immediate surroundings taking self as the first and the immediate point of attack. We need not hug the comfort to ourselves that we are not like other men. Unnatural vice is not an isolated phenomenon. It is but a violent symptom of the same disease. If we have impurity within us, if we are sexually depraved, we must right ourselves before expecting to reform our neighbours. There is too much sitting in judgment upon others and too much indulgence towards self. The result is a vicious circle. Those who realize the truth of it must get out of it and they will find that progress though never easy becomes sensibly possible.

Young India, 27-6-1929

81. A TRAGEDY

Throughout a life of continuous bustle lived among crowds for nearly thirty years I cannot recall a serious accident though I can many narrow escapes. But in Almora on the day of my entry, i.e., 18th instant, and after a crowded meeting, as I was returning to my host's house, a villager named Padam Singh who came rushing as villagers do to the car for *darshan* met with what proved to be a fatal accident. He could not dodge the car in time, fell and the car ran over him. He was quickly carried by kind bystanders to the hospital where he received the utmost attention and hope was entertained that he would survive. He was strongly built and brave. He lived for two days, his pulse was good, he was taking nourishment. But the heart suddenly stopped on 20th instant at 3.15. Padam Singh died leaving an orphan boy 12 years old.

Death or lesser accidents generally do not give me more than a momentary shock, but even at the time of writing this I have not recovered from the shock. I suppose it is because I feel guilty of being party to Padam Singh's death. I have found chauffeurs to be almost without exception hot-tempered, easily excitable and impatient, as inflammable as the petrol with which they have to come in daily contact. The chauffeur of my car had more than a fair share of all these shortcomings. For the crowd through which the car was struggling to pass he was driving rashly. I should have either insisted on walking or the car proceeding only at a walking pace till we had been clear of the crowd. But constant motor-riding had evidently coarsened me, and freedom from serious accidents produced an unconscious but unforgivable indifference to the safety of pedestrians. This sense of the wrong is probably responsible for the shock. It is well with Padam Singh. Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant has assured me that the son will be well looked after. Padam Singh received attention at the hospital which moneyed men might have envied. He was himself resigned and at peace. But his death is a lesson to me as, I hope, it would be to motorists. Although I may be twitted about my inconsistency, I must repeat my belief that motoring in spite of all its advantages is an unnatural form of locomotion. It therefore behoves those who use it to restrain their drivers and to realize that speed is not the *summum bonum* of life and may even be no gain in the long run. I have never been clear in my mind that my mad rush

through India has been all to the good. Anyway Padam Singh's death has set me thinking furiously.

Young India, 27-6-1929

82. *RASHTRIYA SANGHA AND SELF-SUPPORT*

The boycott movement has its constructive as well as its destructive side. Destruction will be ineffective if it does not go hand in hand with construction. Just as a field denuded of weeds will send them up again if no crop is sown, so also will destruction of foreign cloth surely be followed by new consignments if there is no khadi available. Indeed destruction or giving up of foreign cloth is necessary because we must manufacture and find use for life-giving khadi. The Rashtriya Sangha of Bengal has taken up the constructive work. Satisbabu of Khadi Pratishthan who is the founder of the Sangha is concentrating his attention on villages being self-supporting for their cloth requirements. The Sangha is taking in its orbit parts of Utkal also. He recently visited the Alaka Ashram of Sjt. Gopabandhu Choudhry and in company with him and other friends surveyed some neighbouring villages. From his notes about the tour I take the following interesting extracts:[1]

> We selected village Ranahata about five miles from the Ashram. The inhabitants are all peasants. There is the usual poverty. The village sends a portion of its manhood as wage-earners to Calcutta. The proposition to undertake the production of all necessary cloth within the village was readily responded to. A volunteer body of 10 was formed which is to receive training in the Alaka Ashram. After their training Sjt. Parihari is to come and stay in the village for carrying on the work. . . .
>
> There are some families of weavers round the Ashram in Jagatsinghpur. . . . There will be however no difficulty about weaving the cloth for Ranahata at present at Jagatsinghpur. Ultimately of course Ranahata will weave its own cloth. . . .
>
> We found the 30 miles road to the Alaka Ashram thoroughly lined with trees. . . . I found groups of women not only sweeping the road but the surrounding fields also for collecting leaves and stray twigs for fuel. Collecting leaves one by one seemed to be an occupation. . . . I sighed for the day when these women will sit by their wheels. . . .

What Satisbabu has described is typical of most Utkal villages. Those mentioned by Satisbabu are by no means the poorest. But

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

there is not much to choose in the midst of growing poverty. If the Rashtriya Sangha succeeds in its effort, it would have conferred a real boon on the villagers of Utkal besides making a substantial contribution to the boycott movement.

Young India, 27-6-1929

83. THE EVIL OF PURDAH

The belief that anything old is good is a source of numerous wrong practices. If all that is ancient is considered good what about sin? It is very old, but it will ever deserve to be discarded. Untouchability is also old, but it is a sin, therefore we should give it up. The same is true of drinking and gambling. If a thing which lies within the province of reason -which can be proved to be right or wrong with the aid of reason, does not appeal to reason, it would deserve to be immediately given up.

However old *purdah* may be, reason cannot accept it today. The harm it has done is self-evident. We should not try to justify *purdah* as we do in the case of many other things by putting an ideal interpretation on this custom. In fact the way it is now observed, it can stand no such interpretation.

The truth is that *purdah* is not an external affair, it is something internal. Many women who observe *purdah* externally are found to be immodest. However, a woman who retains her modesty without observing external *purdah* deserves to be worshipped. And fortunately there is no dearth of such women in the world even today.

In the scriptures we find many terms which had an external meaning at one time but which are interpreted at present anagogically. One such is *yajna*. Now we know that the killing of animals is not a true *yajna*. True *yajna* consists in burning up the animal passions within us. One can quote hundreds of such examples. Therefore those desirous of reforming and saving Hindu society need not be afraid of ancient conventions. We cannot find better principles than the old ones. But the way they are to be put into practice must continue to change. Change is a sign of growth while stagnation is the beginning of decay. The world changes every moment. Only the dead do not change. Immobility is thus a sign of death. We are not talking here of the immobility, the calmness of the yogi. In the calmness of the yogi there lies hidden the speediest motion. There is in that calmness the utmost wakefulness of the *atman*. We are talking here of inert

immobility—in other words, of inertia. Enslaved by this inertia we are driven willingly to acquiesce in all old evil customs. It prevents us from making any progress. This very inertia comes in our way in the attainment of swaraj. Now let us see how the *purdah* causes us harm.

1. It prevents women from receiving education.
2. It makes them timid.
3. It ruins their health.
4. It comes in the way of normal relationship between men and women.
5. It engenders in them a sense of inferiority.
6. Women lose contact with the outside world and in the result they are deprived of their due experience.
7. It prevents a woman from performing her role as man's better half.
8. Those women who observe *purdah* cannot play their full role in the struggle for swaraj.
9. *Purdah* comes in the way of children's education.

Considering all these ill effects, it is the duty of all intelligent Hindus to do away with this evil custom.

As with the other reforms so also with the *purdah*. Charity must begin at home. When others observe the good results of our actions, they will naturally emulate our example. It is, however, important to remember one thing: A reformer must always be gentle and courteous. If in doing away with *purdah* our aim is observance of restraint, then it is our duty to take this step and we will surely succeed in our effort. But if what we aim at is not restraint but licence, it will not be possible to remove the *purdah*, because the public will then resent the move and in anger may even support this evil custom. The people are pure in their hearts and cannot respect a movement with an impure objective.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 27-6-1929

84. "*ANASAKTIYOGA*"[1]

The Message of the "Gita"

It was at Kausani in Almora, on 24th June 1929, i.e., after two years' waiting, that I finished the introduction in Gujarati to my translation of the *Gita*. The whole was then published in due course.[2] It has been translated in Hindi, Bengali and Marathi. There has been an insistent demand for an English translation. I finished the translation of the introduction at the Yeravda prison. Since my discharge[3] it has lain with friends, and now I give it to the reader. Those, who take no interest in the Book of Life, will forgive the tres-passon these columns. To those, who are interested in the poem and treat it as their guide in life, my humble attempt might prove of some help.

M. K. G.

Just[4] as, acted upon by the affection of co-workers like Swami Anand and others, I wrote *My Experiments with Truth*[5], so has it been regarding my rendering of the *Gita*. "We shall be able to appreciate your meaning of the message of the *Gita*, only when we are able to study a translation of the whole text by yourself, with the addition of such notes as you may deem necessary.[6] I do not think it is

[1] Literally, 'the yoga of non-attachment'. The English translation by Mahadev Desai bore the title *The Gita according to Gandhi*. The English translation of the introduction to his Gujarati translation of the *Gita* was begun by Gandhiji on 16-12-1930, and was completed by him on 8-1-1931 in the Yeravda prison. The original manuscript in English (photostat: G.N. 7911), in addition to bearing the dates for each instalment of the translation, also mentions 24-6-1929 as the date on which the introduction in Gujarati to the translation of the *Gita* was completed. However, in his letters to Mahadev Desai and Chhaganlal Joshi dated 28-6-1929 (*vide* pp. 133 & 135.), he mentions his having completed the *Gita* the previous day. The work therefore is placed under June 27, 1929.

The English translation appeared first in *Young India*, 6-8-1931, with this prefatory note and they were both reproduced in *The Gita according to Gandhi*.

[2] On March 12, 1930 by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad

[3] On January 26, 1931

[4] The original manuscript has "Even".

[5] *Vide* Vol. XXXIX.

[6] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "We can appreciate your meaning of the message of the *Gita* only when you have translated the whole text with such notes as you may deem necessary and when we have gone through it all."

just on your part to deduce ahimsa, etc., from stray verses," thus spoke Swami Anand to me during the non-co-operation days. I felt the force of his remarks[1]. I therefore told him that I would adopt his suggestion when I got[2] the time. Shortly afterwards I was imprisoned.[3] During my incarceration I was able to study the *Gita* more fully. I went reverently through the Gujarati translation of the Lokamanya's great work[4]. He had kindly presented me with the Marathi original and the translations in Gujarati and Hindi, and had asked me,[5] if I could not tackle the original, at least to go through the Gujarati translation. I had not been able to[6] follow the advice outside the prison walls. But when I was imprisoned I read the Gujarati translation. This reading whetted my appetite for more and I glanced through several works on the *Gita*.[7]

2. My first acquaintance[8] with the *Gita* began in 1888-89 with the verse translation by Sir Edwin Arnold known as *The Song Celestial*. On reading it I felt a keen desire to read a Gujarati translation. And I read as many translations as I could lay hold on. But all such reading can give me no passport for presenting my own[9] translation. Then again my knowledge of Sanskrit is limited; my knowledge of Gujarati too is in no way scholarly.[10] How could I then dare present the public with my translation?

3. It has been my endeavour, as also that of[11] some companions, to reduce to practice the teaching of the *Gita* as I have understood it. The *Gita* has become for us a spiritual reference book.[12] I am aware that we ever fail to act in perfect accord with the teaching. The failure is not due to want of effort, but is in

[1] The original manuscript has "remark".

[2] The original manuscript has "get".

[3] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "Then I was imprisoned."

[4] *Gita Rahasya*

[5] The original manuscript has "and asked me".

[6] The original manuscript has "I could not".

[7] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "This reading whetted my appetite for reading more about the *Gita* and I glanced through several works on it."

[8] *Vide* Vol. I, p. 344 and Vol. XXXIX, p. 60.

[9] The original manuscript does not have the word "own".

[10] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "Then again my knowledge of Sanskrit is limited; my knowledge of Gujarati too in no way of a higher type."

[11] The original manuscript does not have the words "that of".

[12] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "It has become a spiritual reference book."

spite of it.[1] Even through the failures we seem to see rays of hope. The accompanying rendering contains the meaning of the *Gita* message which this little band is trying to enforce in its[2] daily conduct.

4. Again this rendering is designed for women, the commercial class, the so-called Shudras and the like, who have little or no literary equipment, who have neither the time nor the desire to read the *Gita* in the original, and yet who stand in need of its support.[3] In spite of my Gujarati being unscholarly[4] I must own to having the desire to leave to the Gujaratis, through the mother tongue, whatever knowledge I may possess. I do indeed wish that, at a time when literary output of a questionable character is pouring in upon the Gujaratis, they should have before them a rendering, which the majority can understand, of a book that is regarded as unrivalled for its spiritual merit and so withstand the overwhelming flood of unclean literature.[5]

5. This desire does not mean any disrespect to the other renderings. They have their own place. But I am not aware of the[6] claim made by the translators of enforcing their meaning of the *Gita* in their own lives. At the back of my reading[7] there is the claim of an endeavour to enforce the meaning in my own conduct for an unbroken period of 40[8] years. For this reason I do indeed harbour the wish that all Gujarati men or women[9], wishing to shape their conduct according to their faith, should digest and derive strength from the translation here presented.

6. My co-workers, too, have worked at this translation. My knowledge of Sanskrit being very limited, I should not have

[1] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "The failure is due not to want of effort but in spite of it."

[2] The original manuscript has "their".

[3] The original manuscript has "who stand in need of the support of the *Gita*".

[4] The original manuscript has "In spite of my knowledge of Gujarati being limited".

[5] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "I do indeed wish that at a time when literary output of a questionable character is pouring in upon the Gujaratis they should have before them a readable rendering of a book that is regarded as unrivalled for its spiritual merit and so that they may be able to withstand the overwhelming flood of unclean literature."

[6] The original manuscript has "any".

[7] The original manuscript has "rendering".

[8] The original manuscript has "thirty eight".

[9] The original manuscript has "For this reason I do indeed harbour the wish that every Gujarati man or woman".

full confidence in my literal translation. To that extent therefore the translation has passed before[1] the eyes of Vinoba, Kaka Kalelkar, Mahadev Desai and Kishorelal Mashruwala.

II

7. Now about the message of the *Gita*.

8. Even in 1888-89, when I first became acquainted with the *Gita*, I felt that it was not a historical work, but that, under the guise of physical warfare, it described the duel that perpetually went on in the hearts of mankind, and that physical warfare was brought in merely[2] to make the description of the internal duel more alluring[3]. This preliminary intuition became more confirmed on a closer study of religion and the *Gita*. A study of the *Mahabharata* gave it added confirmation. I do not regard the *Mahabharata* as a historical work in the accepted sense. The "Adiparva" contains powerful evidence in support of my opinion. By ascribing to the chief actors superhuman or subhuman origins, the great Vyasa made short work of the history of kings and their peoples. The persons therein described may be historical, but the author of the *Mahabharata* has used them merely to drive home his religious theme.

9. The author of the *Mahabharata* has not established the necessity of physical warfare; on the contrary, he has proved its futility. He has made the victors shed tears of sorrow and repentance, and has left them nothing but a legacy of miseries.

10. In this great work the[4] *Gita* is the crown. Its second chapter, instead of teaching the rules of physical warfare, tells us[5] how a perfected man is to be known. In the characteristics of the perfected man of the *Gita*, I do not see any to correspond to physical warfare.[6] Its whole design is inconsistent with the rules of conduct governing the relations between warring parties.[7]

[1] The original manuscript does not have the word "before".

[2] The original manuscript does not have the word "merely".

[3] The original manuscript has "attractive".

[4] The original manuscript does not have the word "the".

[5] The original manuscript has "teaches".

[6] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "In reading these verses I do not find a single characteristic of a perfected man that can correspond to physical warfare."

[7] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "The whole design of the *Gita* is inconsistent with the rules of conduct governing the relations between contending parties in domestic disputes."

11. Krishna of the *Gita* is perfection[1] and right knowledge personified; but the picture is imaginary. That does not mean that Krishna, the adored of his people, never lived. But perfection is imagined. The idea of a perfect incarnation is an aftergrowth.

12. In Hinduism[2] incarnation is ascribed to one who has performed some extraordinary service of mankind. All embodied life is in reality an incarnation of God, but it is not usual to consider every living being an incarnation. Future generations pay this homage to one who, in his own generation, has been extraordinarily religious in his conduct.[3] I can see nothing wrong in this procedure; it takes nothing from God's greatness, and there is no violence done to Truth. There is an Urdu saying which means: "Adam is not God but he is a spark of the Divine." And therefore he who is the most religiously behaved has most[4] of the divine spark in him. It is in accordance with this train of thought, that Krishna enjoys, in Hinduism, the status of the most perfect incarnation.

13. This belief in incarnation[5] is a testimony of man's lofty spiritual ambition. Man is not at peace with himself till he has become like unto God.[6] The endeavour to reach this state is the supreme, the only ambition worth having.[7] And this is self-realization. This self-realization is the subject of the *Gita*, as it is of all scriptures.[8] But its author surely did not write it to establish that doctrine. The object of the *Gita* appears to me to be that of showing the most excellent way to attain self-realization.[9] That which is to be found, more or less clearly, spread out here and there in Hindu religious books, has been brought out in the clearest possible language in the *Gita* even at the risk of repetition.

14. *That matchless remedy is renunciation of fruits of action.*

[1] The original manuscript has "perfect".

[2] The original manuscript does not have the words "In Hinduism".

[3] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "Future generations pay homage as an incarnation to one who, in his own generation, has been the most religious in his conduct."

[4] The original manuscript has "more".

[5] The original manuscript has "This incarnation habit".

[6] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "Man is not at peace with himself till he has become like unto God, he is not happy without it."

[7] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "The endeavour to be that is the supreme, the only ambition worth having."

[8] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "This self-realization is the subject of all scriptures as it is of the *Gita*."

[9] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "But the object of the *Gita* appears to me to be to show the most excellent way of attaining self-realization."

15. This is the centre round which the *Gita* is woven.[1] This renunciation is the central sun, round which devotion, knowledge and the rest revolve like planets.[2] The body has been likened to a prison.[3] There must be action[4] where there is body. Not one embodied being is exempted[5] from labour. And yet all religions proclaim that it is possible for man, by treating the body as the temple of God, to attain freedom. Every action[6] is tainted, be it ever so trivial[7]. How can the body be made the temple of God?[8] In other words[9] how can one be free from action, i.e., from the taint of sin? The *Gita* has answered the question in decisive language: "By desireless action; by renouncing fruits of action; by dedicating all activities[10] to God, i.e., by surrendering oneself to Him body and soul."

16. But desirelessness or renunciation does[11] not come for the mere talking about it. It is not attained by an intellectual feat. It is attainable only by a constant heart-churn. Right knowledge is necessary for attaining[12] renunciation. Learned men possess a knowledge of a kind. They may recite the Vedas from memory, yet[13] they may be steeped in self-indulgence. In order[14] that knowledge may not run riot, the author of the *Gita* has insisted on devotion accompanying it and has given it the first place. Knowledge without devotion will be like a misfire. Therefore, says the *Gita*: "Have devotion, and knowledge will follow." This devotion is not mere lip worship, it is a wrestling with death.[15] Hence the *Gita*'s assessment of the devotee's qualities is similar to that of the sages.

[1] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "The *Gita* is woven round this as the centre."

[2] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "Devotion, knowledge and the rest revolve like planets round this renunciation as the central sun."

[3] The original manuscript does not have this sentence.

[4] The original manuscript has "work".

[5] The original manuscript has "exempt".

[6] The original manuscript has "But every action".

[7] The original manuscript has "little".

[8] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "And freedom is available only for those who become sinless."

[9] The original manuscript has "Then".

[10] The original manuscript has "activity".

[11] The original manuscript has "do".

[12] The original manuscript has "is necessary to attain".

[13] The original manuscript has "but".

[14] The original manuscript has "So".

[15] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "But this devotion is wrestling with death."

17. Thus the devotion required by the *Gita* is no soft-hearted effusiveness. It certainly is not blind faith. The devotion of the *Gita* has the least to do with externals. A devotee may use, if he likes, rosaries, forehead marks, make offerings, but these things[1] are no test of his devotion. He is the devotee who is jealous of none, who is a fount of mercy, who is without egotism, who is selfless, who treats alike cold and heat, happiness and misery, who is ever forgiving, who is always contented, whose resolutions are firm, who has dedicated mind and soul to God, who causes no dread,[2] who is not afraid of others[3], who is free from exultation, sorrow and fear, who is pure, who is versed in action and yet remains unaffected by it, who renounces all fruit, good or bad, who treats friend and foe alike, who is untouched by respect or disrespect, who is not puffed up by praise, who does not go under when people speak ill of him, who loves silence and solitude, who has a disciplined reason.[4] Such devotion is inconsistent with the existence at the same time of strong attachments.[5]

18. We thus see, that to be a real devotee is to realize oneself.[6] Self-realization is not something apart.[7] One rupee can purchase for us poison or nectar, but knowledge or devotion cannot buy us either salvation or bondage.[8] These are not media of exchange. They are themselves the thing we want. In other words, if the means and the end are not identical, they are almost so. The extreme of means is salvation. Salvation of the *Gita* is perfect peace.[9]

19. But such knowledge and devotion, to be true, have to stand the test of renunciation of fruits of action. Mere knowledge of right and wrong will not make one fit for salvation.[10] According to common notions a mere learned man will pass as a pundit. He need

[1] The original manuscript has "but they".

[2] The original manuscript has "whom people do not fear".

[3] The original manuscript has "them".

[4] The original manuscript has "whose reason is disciplined".

[5] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "Such devotion is impossible in men or women with strong attachments."

[6] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "We thus see, that to know to be a real devotee is to realize oneself."

[7] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "Self-realization is not something apart from it."

[8] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "Just as one rupee can purchase for us poison or nectar so may we not use knowledge or devotion for attaining either salvation or bondage."

[9] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "The salvation contemplated by *Gita* is perfect peace."

[10] This sentence is not in the original manuscript.

Translation of the preface to Anasakti Yoga

(1) Even as I acted upon by the affection of co-workers like Swami Anand and others I wrote my Experiments with truth so has it been regarding my rendering of the Gita. "We can appreciate your meaning of the message of the Gita only when you have translated the whole text with such notes as you may deem necessary & when we have gone through it all. We do not think it is just on your part to deduce ahimsa &c from stray verses" thus spoke Swami Anand to me during the non-cooperation days. I felt the force of his remark. I therefore told him It would certainly adopt his suggestion when I got the time. Then I was imprisoned. Whilst serving my incarceration I was able

and capable of being understood by the heart. Therefore it is not for those who have no faith. The author himself has said.

"Do not entrust this measure to him who ~~has not sacrifi~~ ~~who has~~ is without sacrifice without devotion, who without the desire for it and who denies me. But on the other hand those who will give this for ever more to ~~those~~ my devotees will by the fact of this service of me will assuredly reach me. And those who being free from malice will with faith absorb this teaching will having attained freedom live where people of true merit abide after death."

Rosani ... maya

24.6.29

8.11.'31

not perform any service. He will regard it as bondage even to lift a little *lota*.[1] Where one test of knowledge is non-liability for service, there is no room for such mundane work as the lifting of a *lota*.

20. Or take *bhakti*.[2] The popular notion of *bhakti* is soft-heartedness, telling beads and the like, and disdaining to do even a loving service, lest the telling of beads, etc., might be interrupted.[3] This *bhakta*[4] therefore leaves the rosary only for eating, drinking and the like, never for grinding corn or nursing patients.

21. But the *Gita* says:[5] "No one has attained his goal without action. Even men like Janaka attained salvation through action. If even I were lazily to cease working, the world would[6] perish. How much more necessary then for the people at large to engage in action?"

22. While[7] on the one hand it is beyond dispute that all action binds, on the other hand it is equally true that all living beings have to do some work, whether they will or no. Here all activity, whether mental or physical, is to be included in the term action. Then how is one to be free from the bondage of action, even though he may be acting[8]? The manner in which the *Gita* has solved the problem is, to my knowledge, unique.[9] The *Gita* says: "Do your allotted work but renounce its fruit—be detached and work—have no desire for reward, and work."

This is the unmistakable teaching of the *Gita*.[10] He who gives up action falls. He who gives up only the reward rises. But renunciation of fruit in no way means indifference to the result. In regard to every action one must know the result that is expected

[1] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "He will regard it as a bondage even to lift a little *lota*."

[2] This sentence is not in the original manuscript.

[3] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "The popular notion of a *bhakta* is that he is a soft-hearted maniac, telling beads and disdaining to do even a loving service lest his telling of beads might be interrupted."

[4] The original manuscript has "He".

[5] The original manuscript has: "Both these have been clearly told by the *Gita*."

[6] The original manuscript has "will".

[7] The original manuscript has "But".

[8] The original manuscript has "doing it".

[9] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "The manner in which the *Gita* has solved the problem no other work has to my knowledge."

[10] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "This unmistakable and unmistakable teaching of the *Gita*" [*sic*].

to follow, the means thereto, and the capacity for it. He, who, being thus equipped, is without desire for the result, and is yet wholly engrossed in the due fulfilment of the task before him, is said to have renounced the fruits[1] of his action.

23. Again, let no one consider renunciation to mean want of fruit for the renouncer. The *Gita* reading does not warrant such a meaning. Renunciation means absence of hankering after[2] fruit. As a matter of fact, he who renounces reaps a thousandfold. The renunciation of the *Gita* is the acid test of faith. He who is ever brooding over the result often loses nerve in the performance of his duty. He becomes impatient and then gives vent to anger and begins to do unworthy things; he jumps from action to action, never remaining faithful to any. He who broods over results is like a man given to objects of senses; he is ever distracted, he says goodbye to all scruples, everything is right in his estimation and he therefore resorts to means fair and foul to attain his end.

24. From the bitter experiences of desire for fruit the author of the *Gita* discovered the path of renunciation of fruit, and put it before the world in a most convincing manner. The common belief is that religion is always opposed to material good. "One cannot act religiously in mercantile and such other matters. There is no place for religion in such pursuits; religion is only for attainment of salvation," we hear many worldly-wise people say. In my opinion the author of the *Gita* has dispelled this delusion. He has drawn no line of demarcation between salvation and worldly pursuits. On the contrary, he has shown that religion must rule even our worldly pursuits. I have felt that the *Gita* teaches us that what cannot be followed out in day-to-day practice cannot be called religion. Thus, according to the *Gita*, all acts that are incapable of being performed without attachment are taboo. This golden rule saves mankind from many a pitfall. According to this interpretation[3], murder, lying, dissoluteness and the like must[4] be regarded as sinful and therefore taboo. Man's life then becomes simple, and from that simpleness springs peace.

25. Thinking along these lines, I have felt that in trying to enforce in one's life the central teaching of the *Gita*, one is bound to follow truth and ahimsa. When there is no desire for fruit, there is no temptation for untruth or *himsa*. Take any instance of

[1] The original manuscript has "fruit".
[2] The original manuscript has "for".
[3] The original manuscript has "doctrine".
[4] The original manuscript has "would".

untruth or violence, and it will be found that at its[1] back was the desire to attain the cherished end. But it may be freely admitted that the *Gita* was not written to establish ahimsa. It was an accepted and primary duty even before the *Gita* age.[2] The *Gita* had to deliver the message of renunciation of fruit. This is clearly brought out as early as the second chapter.

26. But if the *Gita* believed in ahimsa or it was[3] included in desirelessness, why did the author take a warlike illustration? When the *Gita* was written, although people believed in ahimsa, wars were not only not taboo, but nobody observed the contradiction between them and ahimsa.

27. In assessing the implications of renunciation of fruit, we are not required to probe the mind of the author of the *Gita* as to his limitations of ahimsa and the like.[4] Because a poet puts a particular truth before the world, it does not necessarily follow that he has known or worked out all its great consequences, or that having done so, he is able always to express them fully.[5] In this perhaps lies the greatness of the poem and the poet.[6] A poet's meaning is limitless. Like man, the meaning of great writings suffers evolution. On examining the history of languages, we notice that the meaning of important words has changed or expanded. This is true of the *Gita*. The author has himself extended the meanings of some of the current words.[7] We are able to discover this even on a superficial examination.[8] It is possible that, in the age prior to that of the *Gita*, offering of animals in sacrifice was permissible. But there is not a trace of it in the sacrifice in the *Gita* sense. In the *Gita* continuous concentration on God is the king of sacrifices. The third chapter seems to show that sacrifice chiefly means body-labour for service. The third and the

[1] The original manuscript has "their".

[2] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "It was accepted as primary duty even before the *Gita* age."

[3] The original manuscript has "is".

[4] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "But in assessing the measure of renunciation of fruit, we are not required to probe the mind of the author of the *Gita* as to his limitation of ahimsa and the like."

[5] The original manuscript has "he is able to reduce them in language".

[6] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "And in this lies the greatness of the poem and the poet."

[7] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "The author of the *Gita* has himself extended the meanings of great current words."

[8] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "And this we are able to discover even on a superficial examination."

fourth chapters read together will give us other meanings for sacrifice, but never animal-sacrifice. Similarly has the meaning of the word sannyasa undergone, in the *Gita*, a transformation. The sannyasa of the *Gita* will not tolerate complete cessation of all activity. The sannyasa of the *Gita* is all work and yet no work. Thus the author of the *Gita*, by extending meanings of words, has taught us to imitate him. Let it be granted, that according to the letter of the *Gita* it is possible to say that warfare is consistent with renunciation of fruit. But after 40 years' unremitting endeavour fully to enforce the teaching of the *Gita* in my own life, I have, in all humility, felt that perfect renunciation is impossible without perfect observance of ahimsa in every shape and form.[1]

28. The *Gita* is not an aphoristic work; it is a great religious poem. The deeper you dive into it, the richer the meanings you get. It being meant for the people at large, there is pleasing repetition[2]. [3]With every age the important words will carry new and expanding meanings. But its central teaching will never vary. The seeker is at liberty to extract from this treasure any meaning he likes so as to enable him to enforce in his life the central teaching.

29. Nor is the *Gita* a collection of Do's and Don'ts. What is lawful for one may be unlawful for another. What may be permissible at one time, or in one place, may not be so at another time, and in another place. [4]Desire for fruit is the only universal prohibition. Desirelessness is obligatory.

30. The *Gita* has sung the praises of knowledge[5], but it is beyond the mere intellect; it is essentially addressed to the heart and capable of being understood by the heart. Therefore the *Gita* is not for those who have no faith. The author makes Krishna say:[6]

"Do not entrust this treasure to him who is without sacrifice, without devotion, without the desire for this teaching[7] and who denies Me. On the other hand, those who will give this precious treasure to My devotees will, by the fact of this service, assuredly

[1] The original manuscript has "is impossible without perfect observance of truth and ahimsa".

[2] The original manuscript has "the same thing has been said often".

[3] The original manuscript adds "Therefore".

[4] The original manuscript adds "Therefore".

[5] The original manuscript has "learning".

[6] In the original manuscript the sentence reads: "The author himself has said."

[7] The original manuscript does not have the words "for this teaching".

reach Me.[1] And those who, being free from malice, will with faith absorb this teaching, shall[2], having attained freedom, live where people of true merit go[3] after death."

DISCOURSE I

No knowledge is to be found without seeking, no tranquillity without travail, no happiness except through tribulation. Every seeker has, at one time or another, to pass through a conflict of duties, a heart-churning.

Dhritarashtra said:

1. Tell me, O Sanjaya, what my sons and Pandu's assembled, on battle intent, did on the field of Kuru, the field of duty.

The human body is the battle-field where the eternal duel between Right and Wrong goes on. Therefore it is capable of being turned into the gateway to Freedom. It is born in sin and becomes the seed-bed of sin. Hence it is also called the field of Kuru. The Kauravas represent the forces of Evil, the Pandavas the forces of Good. Who is there that has not experienced the daily conflict within himself between the forces of Evil and the forces of Good?[4]

DISCOURSE II

By reason of delusion, man takes wrong to be right. By reason of delusion was Arjuna led to make a difference between kinsmen and non-kinsmen. To demonstrate that this is a vain distinction, Lord Krishna distinguishes between body (not-self) and atman (self) and shows that whilst bodies are impermanent and several, atman is permanent and one. Effort is within man's control, not the fruit thereof. All he has to do, therefore, is to decide his course of conduct or duty on each occasion and persevere in it, unconcerned about the result. Fulfilment of one's duty in the spirit of detachment or selflessness leads to Freedom.

30. This embodied one in the body of every being is ever beyond all harm, O Bharata; thou shouldst not, therefore, grieve for anyone.

[1] The original manuscript has: "by the fact of this service of me will assuredly reach me".

[2] The original manuscript has "will".

[3] The original manuscript has "live".

[4] The translation of the *Gita* verses not commented on or referred to by Gandhiji is not reproduced in this volume. The translation both of the verses and of Gandhiji's comments is from Mahadev Desai's *The Gita according to Gandhi.*

Thus far Lord Krishna, by force of argument based on pure reason, has demonstrated that *atman* is abiding while the physical body is fleeting, and has explained that if, under certain circumstances, the destruction of a physical body is deemed justifiable, it is delusion to imagine that the Kauravas should not be slain because they are kinsmen. Now he reminds Arjuna of the duty of a Kshatriya.

31. Again, seeing thine own duty thou shouldst not shrink from it; for there is no higher good for a Kshatriya than a righteous war.

32. Such a fight, coming unsought, as a gateway to heaven thrown open, falls only to the lot of happy Kshatriyas, O Partha.

33. But if thou wilt not fight this righteous fight, then failing in thy duty and losing thine honour thou wilt incur sin.

34. The world will for ever recount the story of thy disgrace; and for a man of honour disgrace is worse than death.

35. The *maharathas* will think that fear made thee retire from battle; and thou wilt fall in the esteem of those very ones who have held thee high.

36. Thine enemies will deride thy prowess and speak many unspeakable words about thee. What can be more painful than that?

37. Slain, thou shalt gain heaven; victorious, thou shalt inherit the earth: therefore arise, O Kaunteya[1], determined to fight.

Having declared the highest truth, viz., the immortality of the eternal *atman* and the fleeting nature of the physical body (11-30), Krishna reminds Arjuna that a Kshatriya may not flinch from a fight which comes unsought (31-32). He then (32-37) shows how the highest truth and the performance of duty incidentally coincide with expediency. Next he proceeds to foreshadow the central teaching of the *Gita* in the following *shloka*.

38. Hold alike pleasure and pain, gain and loss, victory and defeat, and gird up thy loins for the fight; so doing thou shalt not incur sin.

39. Thus have I set before thee the attitude of Knowledge; hear now the attitude of Action; resorting to this attitude thou shalt cast off the bondage of action.

41. The attitude, in this matter, springing, as it does, from fixed resolve is but one, O Kurunandana; but for those who have no fixed resolve the attitudes are many-branched and unending.

When the attitude ceases to be one and undivided and becomes many and divided, it ceases to be one settled will, and is broken up into various wills or desires between which man is tossed about.

[1] Son of Kunti

42-44. The ignorant, revelling in the letter of the Vedas, declare that there is naught else; carnally-minded, holding heaven to be their goal, they utter swelling words which promise birth as the fruit of action and which dwell on the many and varied rites to be performed for the sake of pleasure and power; intent, as they are, on pleasure and power their swelling words rob them of their wits, and they have no settled attitude which can be centred on the supreme goal.

The Vedic ritual, as opposed to the doctrine of yoga laid down in the *Gita*, is alluded to here. The Vedic ritual lays down countless ceremonies and rites with a view to attaining merit and heaven. These, divorced as they are from the essence of the Vedas and short-lived in their result, are worthless.

45. The Vedas have as their domain the three *gunas*; eschew them, O Arjuna. Free thyself from the pairs of opposites, abide in eternal truth, scorn to gain or guard anything, remain the master of thy soul.

46. To the extent that a well is of use when there is a flood of water on all sides, to the same extent are all the Vedas of use to an enlightened Brahmana.

47. Action alone is thy province, never the fruits thereof; let not thy motive be the fruit of action, nor shouldst thou desire to avoid action.

48. Act thou, O Dhananjaya, without attachment, steadfast in yoga, even-minded in success and failure. Even-mindedness is yoga.

49. For action, O Dhananjaya, is far inferior to unattached action; seek refuge in the attitude of detachment. Pitiable are those who make fruit their motive.

50. Here in this world a man gifted with that attitude of detachment escapes the fruit of both good and evil deeds. Gird thyself up for yoga, therefore. Yoga is skill in action.

Arjuna said:

54. What, O Keshava, is the mark of the man whose understanding is secure, whose mind is fixed in concentration? How does he talk? How sit? How move?

The Lord said:

55. When a man puts away, O Partha, all the cravings that arise in the mind and finds comfort for himself only from *atman*, then is he called the man of secure understanding.

To find comfort for oneself from *atman* means to look to the spirit within for spiritual comfort, not to outside objects which in their very nature must give pleasure as well as pain. Spiritual comfort or bliss must be distinguished from pleasure or happiness. The pleasure I may derive from the possession of wealth, for instance, is delusive; real spiritual comfort or bliss can be attained

only if I rise superior to every temptation even though troubled by the pangs of poverty and hunger.

59. When a man starves his senses,[1] the objects of those senses disappear from him, but not the yearning for them; the yearning too departs when he beholds the Supreme.

The *shloka* does not rule out fasting and other forms of self-restraint, but indicates their limitations. These restraints are needed for subduing the desire for sense-objects, which however is rooted out only when one has a vision of the Supreme. The higher yearning conquers all the lower yearnings.

60. For, in spite of the wise man's endeavour, O Kaunteya, the unruly senses distract his mind perforce.

61. Holding all these in check, the yogi should sit intent on Me; for he whose senses are under control is secure of understanding.

This means that without devotion and the consequent grace of God, man's endeavour is vain.

62. In a man brooding on objects of the senses, attachment to them springs up; attachment begets craving and craving begets wrath.

Craving cannot but lead to resentment, for it is unending and unsatisfied.

63. Wrath breeds stupefaction, stupefaction leads to loss of memory, loss of memory ruins the reason, and the ruin of reason spells utter destruction.

64. But the disciplined soul, moving among sense-objects with the senses weaned from likes and dislikes and brought under the control of *atman*, attains peace of mind.

66. The undisciplined man has neither understanding nor devotion; for him who has no devotion there is no peace, and for him who has no peace, whence happiness?

69. When it is night for all other beings, the disciplined soul is awake; when all other beings are awake, it is night for the seeing ascetic.

This verse indicates the divergent paths of the disciplined ascetic and the sensual man. Whereas the ascetic is dead to the things of the world and lives in God, the sensual man is alive only to the things of the world and dead to the things of the spirit.

70. He in whom all longings subside, even as the waters subside in the ocean which, though ever being filled by them, never overflows—that man finds peace; not he who cherishes longing.

[1] Mahadev Desai in *The Gita according to Gandhi* explains: "For 'starves his senses', Gandhiji has 'fasts'. I think there is no violence to the meaning of the rse in applying 'starvation' to all the senses, including that of hunger."

71. The man who sheds all longing and moves without concern, free from the sense of 'I' and 'Mine'—he attains peace.

72. This is the state, O Partha, of the man who rests in Brahman; having attained to it, he is not deluded. He who abides in this state even at the hour of death passes into oneness with Brahman.

DISCOURSE III

This discourse may be said to be the key to the essence of the Gita. It makes absolutely clear the spirit and the nature of right action and shows how true knowledge must express itself in acts of selfless service.

Arjuna said:

1. If, O Janardana, thou holdest that the attitude of detachment is superior to action, then why, O Keshava, dost thou urge me to dreadful action?

2. Thou dost seem to confuse my understanding with perplexing speech; tell me, therefore, in no uncertain voice, that alone whereby I may attain salvation.

Arjuna is sore perplexed, for whilst on the one hand he is rebuked for his faint-heartedness, on the other he seems to be advised to refrain from action (II. 49-50). But this, in reality, is not the case as the following *shlokas* will show.

The Lord said:

3. I have spoken before, O sinless one, of two attitudes in this world—the Samkhyas', that of jnanayoga and the yogis', that of karmayoga.

4. Never does man enjoy freedom from action by not undertaking action, nor does he attain that freedom by mere renunciation of action.

'Freedom from action' is freedom from the bondage of action.[1] This freedom is not to be gained by cessation of all activity, apart from the fact that this cessation is in the very nature of things impossible (see following *shloka*). How then may it be gained? The following *shlokas* will explain:

5. For none ever remains inactive even for a moment; for all are compelled to action by the *gunas* inherent in *prakriti*.

6. He who curbs the organs of action but allows the mind to dwell on the sense-objects—such a one, wholly deluded, is called a hypocrite.

The man who curbs his tongue but mentally swears at another is a hypocrite. But that does not mean that free rein should

[1] Mahadev Desai explains here: "The 'bondage of action' in Gandhiji's note is the bondage of *sansara*, the cycle of death and birth. All action will have its consequences; the consequences in one case, as we shall see, will be the bondage of *sansara*, in the other case it will be freedom from it."

be given to the organs of action so long as the mind cannot be brought under control. Self-imposed physical restraint is a condition precedent to mental restraint. Physical restraint should be entirely self-imposed and not super-imposed from outside, e.g., by fear. The hypocrite who is held up to contempt here is not the humble aspirant after self-restraint. The *shloka* has reference to the man who curbs the body because he cannot help it whilst indulging the mind, and who would indulge the body too if he possibly could. The next *shloka* puts the thing conversely.

7. But he, O Arjuna, who keeping all the senses under control of the mind, engages the organs in karmayoga, without attachment—that man excels.

The mind and body should be made to accord well. Even with the mind kept in control, the body will be active in one way or another. But he whose mind is truly restrained, will, for instance close his ears to foul talk and open them only to listen to the praise of God or of good men. He will have no relish for sensual pleasures and will keep himself occupied with such activity as ennobles the soul. That is the path of action. Karmayoga is the yoga (means) which will deliver the self from the bondage of the body, and in it there is no room for self-indulgence.

8. Do thou thy allotted task; for action is superior to inaction; with inaction even life's normal course is not possible.

9. This world of men suffers bondage from all action save that which is done for the sake of sacrifice; to this end, O Kaunteya, perform action without attachment.

'Action for the sake of sacrifice' means acts of selfless service dedicated to God.

10. Together with sacrifice did the Lord of beings create, of old, mankind, declaring: "By this shall ye increase; may this be to you the giver of all your desires.

11. "With this may you cherish the gods and may the gods cherish you; thus cherishing one another may you attain the highest good.

12. "Cherished with sacrifice, the gods will bestow on you the desired boons." He who enjoys their gifts without rendering aught unto them is verily a thief.

"Gods" in *shlokas* 11 and 12 must be taken to mean the whole creation of God. The service of all created beings is the service of the gods and the same is sacrifice.

22. For me, O Partha, there is naught to do in the three worlds, nothing worth gaining that I have not gained; yet I am ever in action.

An objection is sometimes raised that God being impersonal is not likely to perform any physical activity; at best He may be supposed to act mentally. This is not correct. For the unceasing movement of the sun, the moon, the earth, etc., signifies God in action. This is not mental but physical activity. Though God is without form and impersonal He acts as though He had form and body. Hence though He is ever in action, He is free from action, unaffected by action. What must be borne in mind is that just as all Nature's movements and processes are mechanical and yet guided by Divine Intelligence or Will, even so man must reduce his daily conduct to mechanical regularity and precision, but he must do so intelligently. Man's merit lies in observing divine guidance at the back of these processes and in an intelligent imitation of it rather than in emphasizing the mechanical nature thereof and reducing himself to an automaton. One has but to withdraw the self, withdraw attachment to fruit from all action, and then not only mechanical precision but security from all wear and tear will be ensured. Acting thus man remains fresh until the end of his days. His body will perish in due course, but his soul will remain evergreen without a crease or a wrinkle.

27. All action is entirely done by the *gunas* of *prakriti*. Man, deluded by the sense of 'I', thinks 'I am the doer'.

28. But he, O Mahabahu, who understands the truth of the various *gunas* and their various activities, knows that it is the *gunas* that operate on the *gunas*; he does not claim to be the doer.

As breathing, winking and similar processes are automatic and man claims no agency for them, he being conscious of the processes only when disease or similar cause arrests them, in a similar manner all his activities should be automatic, without his arrogating to himself the agency or responsibility thereof. man of charity does not even know that he is doing charitable acts, it is his nature to do so, he cannot help it. This detachment can only come from tireless endeavour and God's grace.

30. Cast all thy acts on Me, with thy mind fixed on the indwelling *atman*, and without any thought of fruit, or sense of 'mine' shake off thy fever and fight!

He who knows the *atman* inhabiting the body and realizes Him to be a part of the supreme *atman* will dedicate everything to Him, even as a faithful servant acts as a mere shadow of his master and dedicates to him all that he does. For the master is the real doer, the servant but the instrument.

33. Even a man of knowledge acts according to his nature; all creatures follow their nature; what then will constraint avail?

This does not run counter to the teaching in II. 61 and II. 68 Self-restraint is the means of salvation (VI. 35, XIII. 7). Man's energies should be bent towards achieving complete self-restraint until the end of his days. But if he does not succeed, neither will constraint help him. The *shloka* does not rule out restraint but explains that nature prevails. He who justifies himself saying, 'I cannot do this, it is not in my nature,' misreads the *shloka*. True, we do not know our nature, but habit is not nature. Progress, not decline, ascent, not descent, is the nature of the soul, and therefore every threatened decline or descent ought to be resisted. The next verse makes this abundantly clear.

34. Each sense has its settled likes and dislikes towards its objects; man should not come under the sway of these, for they are his besetters.

Hearing, for instance, is the object of the ears which may be inclined to hear something and disinclined to hear something else. Man may not allow himself to be swayed by these likes and dislikes, but must decide for himself what is conducive to his growth, his ultimate end being to reach the state beyond happiness and misery.

35. Better one's own duty, bereft of merit, than another's well-performed; better is death in the discharge of one's duty; another's duty is fraught with danger.

One man's duty may be to serve the community by working as a sweeper, another's may be to work as an accountant. An accountant's work may be more inviting, but that need not draw the sweeper away from his work. Should he allow himself to be drawn away he would himself be lost and put the community into danger. Before God the work of man will be judged by the spirit in which it is done, not by the nature of the work which makes no difference whatsoever. Whoever acts in a spirit of dedication fits himself for salvation.

40. The senses, the mind and the reason are said to be its seat; by means of these it obscures knowledge and stupefies man.

When Lust seizes the senses, the mind is corrupted, discrimination is obscured and reason ruined. See II. 62-64.

41. Therefore, O Bharatarshabha, bridle thou first the senses and then rid thyself of this sinner, the destroyer of knowledge and discrimination.

42. Subtle, they say, are the senses; subtler than the senses is the mind; subtler than the mind is the reason; but subtler even than the reason is He.

43. Thus realizing Him to be subtler than the reason, and controlling the self by the Self (*atman*), destroy, O Mahabahu, this enemy—Lust, so hard to overcome.

When man realizes Him, his mind will be under His control, not swayed by the senses. And when the mind is conquered, what power has Lust? It is indeed a subtle enemy, but when once the senses, the mind and the reason are under the control of the subtlemost Self, Lust is extinguished.

DISCOURSE IV

This discourse further explains the subject-matter of the third and describes the various kinds of sacrifice.

6. Though unborn and inexhaustible in My essence, though Lord of all beings, yet assuming control over My Nature, I come into being by My mysterious power.[1]

7. For whenever Right declines and Wrong prevails, then O Bharata, I come to birth.

8. To save the righteous, to destroy the wicked, and to re-establish Right I am born from age to age.

Here is comfort for the faithful and affirmation of the truth that Right ever prevails. An eternal conflict between Right and Wrong goes on. Sometimes the latter seems to get the upper hand, but it is Right which ultimately prevails. The good are never destroyed, for Right—which is Truth—cannot perish; the wicked are destroyed because Wrong has no independent existence. Knowing this let man cease to arrogate to himself authorship and eschew untruth, violence and evil. Inscrutable Providence—the unique power of the Lord—is ever at work. This in fact is avatar, incarnation. Strictly speaking there can be no birth for God.

9. He who knows the secret of this My divine birth and action is not born again, after leaving the body; he comes to Me, O Arjuna.

For when a man is secure in the faith that Right always prevails, he never swerves therefrom, pursuing to the bitterest end and against serious odds, and as no part of the effort proceeds from his ego, but all is dedicated to Him, being ever one with Him, he is released from birth and death.

[1] Mahadev Desai explains: "Gandhiji's translation says: 'because of My Nature'. *Prakriti* is here Nature. God by His mysterious power—*maya*—assumes the garb of *prakriti* and looks as though He was born."

10. Freed from passion, fear and wrath, filled full with Me, relying on Me, and refined by the fiery ordeal of knowledge, many have become one with Me.

11. In whatever way men resort to Me, even so do I render to them. In every way, O Partha, the path men follow is Mine.

That is, the whole world is under His ordinance. No one may break God's law with impunity. As we sow, so shall we reap. This law operates inexorably without fear or favour.

12. Those who desire their actions to bear fruit worship the gods here; for in this world of men the fruit of action is quickly obtainable.

Gods, as indicated before, must not be taken to mean the heavenly beings of tradition, but whatever reflects the divine. In that sense man is also a god. Steam, electricity and the other great forces of Nature are all gods. Propitiation of these forces quickly bears fruit, as we well know, but it is short-lived. It fails to bring comfort to the soul and it certainly does not take one even a short step towards salvation.

13. The order of the four varnas was created by Me according to the different *gunas* and karma of each; yet know that though, therefore, author thereof, being changeless I am not the author.

14. Actions do not affect Me, nor am I concerned with the fruits thereof. He who recognizes Me as such is not bound by actions.

For man has thus before him the supreme example of One who though in action is not the Doer thereof. And when we are but instruments in His hands, where then is the room for arrogating responsibility for action?

15. Knowing this did men of old, desirous of Freedom, perform action; do thou, then just as they did—the men of old in days gone by.

16. 'What is action? What inaction?'—Here even the wise are perplexed. I will then expound to thee that action knowing which thou shalt be saved from evil.

17. For it is meet to know the meaning of action, of forbidden action, as also of inaction. Impenetrable is the secret of action.[1]

18. Who sees inaction in action and action in inaction, he is enlightened among men, he is a yogi, he has done all he need do.

[1] Mahadev Desai explains:

"Three classes of action are here mentioned:

(1) Karma, i.e., action which is capable of being performed without attachment, but is not so performed and therefore binds; also including inaction or laziness which presupposes selfishness of attachment and therefore binds;

The 'action' of him who, though ever active, does not claim to be the doer, is inaction, and the 'inaction' of him who, though outwardly avoiding action, is always building castles in his own mind, is action. The enlightened man who has grasped the secret of action knows that no action proceeds from him, all proceeds from God and hence he selflessly remains absorbed in action. He is the true yogi. The man who acts self-fully misses the secret of action and cannot distinguish between Right and Wrong. The soul's natural progress is towards selflessness and purity and one might, therefore, say that the man who strays from the path of purity strays from selflessness. All actions of the selfless man are naturally pure.

19. He whose every undertaking is free from desire and selfish purpose, and he who has burnt all his actions in the fire of knowledge—such a one the wise call a pundit.

20. He who has renounced attachment to the fruit of action, who is ever content, and free from all dependence—he, though immersed in action, yet acts not.

That is, his action does not bind him.

21. Expecting naught, holding his mind and body in check, putting away every possession, and going through action only in the body, he incurs no stain.

The purest act, if tainted by 'self', binds. But when it is done in a spirit of dedication, it ceases to bind. When 'self' has completely subsided, it is only the body that works. For instance, in the case of a man who is asleep his body alone is working. A prisoner doing his prison task has surrendered his body to the prison authorities and only his body, therefore, works. Similarly, he who has voluntarily made himself God's prisoner, does nothing himself. His body mechanically acts, the doer is God, not he. He has reduced himself to nothingness.

22. Content with whatever chance may bring, rid of the pairs of opposites, free from ill will, even-minded in success and failure, he is not bound though he acts.

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(2) *Vikarma*, forbidden action, i.e., action which by its own nature is incapable of being performed without attachment, and hence necessarily binding, e.g., murder, lying, adultery and so forth;

(3) *Akarma*, i.e., action, mental or physical, which is performed without attachment and therefore does not bind.

Shri Vinoba has made a bold departure in his interpretation of the word '*vikarma*'. It means, he says, specific action, i.e., when the mind co-operates with the body and helps to make a self-ful action selfless. Mathematically he expresses it in this formula, *karma+vikarma=akarma*."

23. Of the free soul who has shed all attachment, whose mind is firmly grounded in knowledge, who acts only for sacrifice, all karma is extinguished.

24. The offering of sacrifice is Brahman; the oblation is Brahman; it is offered by Brahman in the fire that is Brahman; thus he whose mind is fixed on acts dedicated to Brahman must needs pass on to Brahman.

25. Some yogis perform sacrifice in the form of worship of the gods, others offer sacrifice of sacrifice itself in the fire that is Brahman.

26. Some offer as sacrifice the sense of hearing and the other senses in the fires[1] of restraint; others sacrifice sound and the other objects of sense in the fires of the senses.

The restraint of the senses—hearing and others—is one thing; and directing them only to legitimate objects, e.g., listening to hymns in the praise of God, is another, although ultimately both amount to the same thing.

27. Others again sacrifice all the activities of the senses and of the vital energy in the yogic fire of self-control kindled by knowledge.

That is to say, they lose themselves in the contemplation of the Supreme.

28. Some sacrifice with material gifts; with austerities; with yoga; some with the acquiring and some with the imparting of knowledge. All these are sacrifices of stern vows and serious endeavour.

29. Others absorbed in the practices of the control of the vital energy sacrifice the outward in the inward and the inward in the outward, or check the flow of both the inward and the outward vital airs.

The reference here is to the three kinds of practices of the control of vital energy—*puraka*, *rechaka* and *kumbhaka*.[2]

30. Yet others, abstemious in food, sacrifice one form of vital energy in another. All these know what sacrifice is and purge themselves of all impurities by sacrifice.

31. Those who partake of the residue of sacrifice—called *amrita* (ambrosia)—attain to everlasting Brahman. Even this world is not for a non-sacrificer; how then the next, O Kurusattama?

[1] Mahadev Desai explains: "*Fires*"—the plural is used to denote the different yogic processes of restraint—*dharana* (concentration), *dhyana* (meditation) and *samadhi* (absorption in the object of meditation)—all three constituting self-restraint—*sanyama*.

[2] Mahadev Desai explains: "*Puraka* practice consists in drawing the breath in and stopping all exhalation, i.e., in the language of *shloka* 29 'sacrificing the outward (called *prana*) in the inward (called *apana*)'; *rechaka* practice consists in throwing the breath outward and stopping all inhalation, i.e., in the language of *shloka* 29, 'sacrificing the inward (*apana*) in the outward (*prana*)'; *kumbhaka* practice consists in checking the flow both ways and holding it in suspense either after an exhalation or inhalation."

32. Even so various sacrifices have been described in the Vedas; know them all to proceed from action; knowing this thou shalt be released.

Action here means mental, physical and spiritual action. No sacrifice is possible without this triple action and no salvation without sacrifice. To know this and to put the knowledge into practice is to know the secret of sacrifice. In fine, unless man uses all his physical, mental and spiritual gifts in the service of mankind, he is a thief, unfit for Freedom. He who uses his intellect only and spares his body is not a full sacrificer. Unless the mind and the body and the soul are made to work in unison, they cannot be adequately used for the service of mankind. Physical, mental and spiritual purity is essential for their harmonious working. Therefore man should concentrate on developing, purifying, and turning to the best use *all* his faculties.

33. Knowledge-sacrifice is better, O Parantapa, than material sacrifice, for all action which does not bind finds its consummation in Knowledge (*jnana*).

Who does not know that works of charity performed without knowledge often result in great harm? Unless every act, however noble its motive, is informed with knowledge, it lacks perfection. Hence the complete fulfilment of all action is in knowledge.

34. The masters of knowledge who have seen the truth will impart to thee this Knowledge; learn it through humble homage and service and by repeated questioning.

The three conditions of knowledge—homage, repeated questioning and service—deserve to be carefully borne in mind in this age. Homage or obeisance means humility, and service is a necessary accompaniment; else it would be mock homage. Repeated questioning is equally essential, for without a keen spirit of inquiry, there is no knowledge. All this presupposes devotion to and faith in the person approached. There can be no humility, much less service, without faith.

35. When thou hast gained this knowledge, O Pandava, thou shalt not again fall into such error; by virtue of it thou shalt see all beings without exception in thyself and thus in Me.

The adage '*Yatha pinde tatha brahmande*' (यथा पिंडे तथा ब्रह्मांडे —'as with the self so with the universe') means the same thing. He who has attained self-realization sees no difference between himself and others.

36. Even though thou be the most sinful of sinners, thou shalt cross the ocean of sin by the boat of knowledge.

37. As a blazing fire turns its fuel to ashes, O Arjuna, even so the fire of Knowledge turns all actions to ashes.

38. There is nothing in this world so purifying as Knowledge. He who is perfected by yoga finds it in himself in the fulness of time.

39. It is the man of faith who gains knowledge the man who is intent on it and who has mastery over his senses; having gained knowledge, he comes ere long to the supreme peace.

40. But the man of doubt, without knowledge and without faith, is lost; for him who is given to doubt there is neither this world nor that beyond, nor happiness.

41. He who has renounced all action by means of yoga, who has severed all doubt by means of knowledge—him self-possessed, no actions bind, O Dhananjaya!

42. Therefore, with the sword of self-realization sever thou this doubt bred of ignorance, which has crept into thy heart! Betake thyself to yoga and arise, O Bharata!

DISCOURSE V

This discourse is devoted to showing that renunciation of action as such is impossible without the discipline of selfless action and that both are ultimately one.

Arjuna said:

1. Thou laudest renunciation of actions, O Krishna, whilst at the same time thou laudest performance of action; tell me for a certainty which is the better.

The Lord said:

2. Renunciation and performance of action both lead to salvation; but of the two karmayoga (performance) is better than sannyasa (renunciation).

3. Him one should know as ever renouncing who has no dislikes and likes; for he who is free from the pairs of opposites is easily released from bondage.

That is, not renunciation of action but of attachment to the pairs, determines true renunciation. A man who is always in action may be a good sannyasi (renouncer) and another who may be doing no work may well be a hypocrite. See III. 6.

4. It is the ignorant who speak of samkhya and yoga as different, not so those who have knowledge. He who is rightly established even in one wins to the fruit of both.

The yogi engrossed in samkhya (knowledge) lives even in thought for the good of the world and attains the fruit of karmayoga by the sheer power of his thought. The karmayogi

ever engrossed in unattached action naturally enjoys the peace of the jnanayogi.

8. The yogi who has seen the Truth knows that it is not he that acts whilst seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, eating, walking, sleeping or breathing,

9. Talking, letting go, holding fast, opening or closing the eyes — in the conviction that it is the senses that are moving in their respective spheres.

So long as 'self' endures, this detachment cannot be achieved. A sensual man therefore may not shelter himself under the pretence that it is not he but his senses that are acting. Such a mischievous interpretation betrays a gross ignorance of the *Gita* and right conduct. The next *shloka* makes this clear.

10. He who dedicates his actions to Brahman and performs them without attachment is not smeared by sin, as the lotus-leaf by water.

13. Renouncing with the mind all actions, the dweller in the body, who is master of himself, rests happily in his city of nine gates, neither doing nor getting anything done.

The principal gates of the body are the two eyes, the two nostrils, the two ears, the mouth, and the two organs of excretion—though really speaking the countless pores of the skin are no less gates. If the gate-keeper always remains on the alert and performs his task, letting in or out only the objects that deserve ingress or egress, then of him it can truly be said that he has no part in the ingress or egress but that he is a passive witness. He thus does nothing nor gets anything done.

14. The Lord creates neither agency nor action for the world; neither does He connect action with its fruit. It is nature that is at work.

God is no doer. The inexorable law of karma prevails, and in the very fulfilment of the law—giving everyone his deserts, making everyone reap what he sows—lies God's abounding mercy and justice. In undiluted justice is mercy. Mercy which is inconsistent with justice is not mercy but its opposite. But man is not a judge knowing past, present and future. So for him the law is reversed and mercy or forgiveness is the purest justice. Being himself ever liable to be judged, he must accord to others what he would accord to himself, viz., forgiveness. Only by cultivating the spirit of forgiveness can he reach the state of a yogi, whom no actions bind, the man of even-mindedness, the man skilled in action.

15. The Lord does not take upon Himself anyone's vice or virtue; it is ignorance that veils knowledge and deludes all creatures.

The delusion lies in man arrogating to himself the authorship of action and then attributing to God the consequence thereof—punishment or reward as the case may be.

18. The men of self-realization look with an equal eye on a Brahmana possessed of learning and humility, a cow, an elephant, a dog and even a dog-eater.

That is to say, they serve every one of them alike, according to the needs of each. Treating a Brahmana and *shwapaka* (dog-eater) alike means that the wise man will suck the poison off a snake-bitten *shwapaka* with as much eagerness and readiness as he would from a snake-bitten Brahmana.

19. In this very body they have conquered the round of birth and death, whose mind is anchored in sameness; for perfect Brahman is same to all, therefore in Brahman they rest.

As a man thinks, so he becomes, and therefore those whose minds are bent on being the same to all achieve that sameness and become one with Brahman.

20. He whose understanding is secure, who is undeluded, who knows Brahman and who rests in Brahman, will neither be glad to get what is pleasant, nor sad to get what is unpleasant.

21. He who has detached himself from contacts without, finds bliss in *atman*; having achieved union with Brahman he enjoys eternal bliss.

He who has weaned himself from outward objects to the inner *atman* is fitted for union with Brahman and the highest bliss. To withdraw oneself from contacts without and to bask in the sunshine of union with Brahman are two aspects of the same state, two sides of the same coin.

23. The man who is able even here on earth, ere he is released from the body, to hold out against the flood-tide of lust and wrath—he is a yogi, he is happy.

As a corpse has no likes and dislikes, no sensibility to pleasure and pain, even so he who though alive is dead to these, he truly lives, he is truly happy.

27-28. That ascetic is ever free—who, having shut out the outward sense-contacts, sits with his gaze fixed between the brows, outward and inward breathing in the nostrils made equal; his senses, mind, and reason held in check, rid of longing, fear and wrath; and intent on Freedom.

These *shlokas* refer to some of the yogic practices laid down in the *Yoga-sutras*. A word of caution is necessary regarding these practices. They serve for the yogi the same purpose as athletics and gymnastics do for the *bhogi* (who pursues worldly pleasures).

His physical exercises help the latter to keep his senses of enjoyment in full vigour. The yogic practices help the yogi to keep his body in condition and his senses in subjection. Men versed in these practices are rare in these days, and few of these turn them to good account. He who has achieved the preliminary stage on the path of self-discipline, he who has a passion for Freedom, and who having rid himself of the pairs of opposites has conquered fear, would do well to go in for these practices which will surely help him. It is such a disciplined man alone who can, through these practices, render his body a holy temple of God. Purity both of the mind and body is a *sine qua non*, without which these processes are likely, in the first instance, to lead a man astray and then drive him deeper into the slough of delusion. That this has been the result in some cases many know from actual experience. That is why that prince of yogis, Patanjali, gave the first place to *yamas* (cardinal vows) and *niyamas* (casual vows) and held as eligible for yogic practices only those who have gone through the preliminary discipline.

The five cardinal vows are: non-violence, truth, non-stealing, celibacy, non-possession. The five casual vows are: bodily purity, contentment, the study of the scriptures, austerity, and meditation of God.

29. Knowing Me as the Acceptor of sacrifice and austerity, the great Lord of all the worlds, the Friend of all creation, the yogi attains to peace.

This *shloka* may appear to be in conflict with *shlokas* 14 and 15 of this discourse and similar ones in other discourses. It is not really so. Almighty God is Doer and non-Doer, Enjoyer and non-Enjoyer, both. He is indescribable, beyond the power of human speech. Man somehow strives to have a glimpse of Him and in so doing invests Him with diverse and even contradictory attributes.[1]

[1] Mahadev Desai explains: "We have had in the discourse a comparison of the jnanayogi or the philosophic mystic and the karmayogi or the active mystic. The *shlokas* v. 27-29 start a new comparison now — quite a parallel dichotomy as it evidences itself in the life of the devotee. *Shloka* 27-28 introduce to us the contemplative or meditative mystic — dhyanayogi — to be described in discourses VI, VII and VIII, while *shloka* 29 describes the devotional mystic, the bhaktiyogi who worships the Supreme in His one or many manifestations, to be described in discourses XI-XII. To him God· appears or reveals Himself as the Acceptor of all sacrifices and the Friend of all creation."

DISCOURSE VI

This discourse deals with some of the means for the accomplishment of yoga or the discipline of the mind and its activities.

The Lord said:

1. He who performs all obligatory action, without depending on the fruit thereof, is a sannyasi and a yogi —not the man who neglects the sacrificial fire nor he who neglects action.

Fire here may be taken to mean all possible instruments of action. Fire was needed when sacrifices used to be performed with its help. Assuming that spinning were a means of universal service in this age, a man by neglecting the spinning-wheel would not become a sannyasi.

2. What is called sannyasa, know thou to be yoga, O Pandava; for none can become a yogi who has not renounced selfish purpose.

3. For the man who seeks to scale the heights of yoga, action is said to be the means; for the same man, when he has scaled those heights, repose is said to be the means.

He who has purged himself of all impurities and who has achieved even-mindedness will easily achieve self-realization. But this does not mean that he who has scaled the heights of yoga will disdain to work for the guidance of the world. On the contrary that work will be to him not only as the breath of his nostrils, but also as natural to him as breathing. He will do so by the sheer force of his will. See V. 4.

4. When a man is not attached either to the objects of sense or to actions and sheds all selfish purpose, then he is said to have scaled the heights of yoga.

5. By one's self should one raise oneself, and not allow oneself to fall; for *atman* (Self) alone is the friend of self, and self alone is self's foe.

6. His Self alone is friend, who has conquered himself by his Self; but to him who has not conquered himself and is thus inimical to himself, even his Self behaves as foe.[1]

[1] Mahadev Desai explains: "I have in my translation distinguished '*atman*', the higher Self, from the lower self, though it is not quite clear whether Gandhiji does so in his translation. *Atman* is, really speaking, neither friend nor foe, but the lower self makes Him friend or foe, according as it strives to lift itself up to Him or drag itself down from Him. In order that the moral and of perfection may be fulfilled, the self has to look to Him as "the Goal, the Witness, the Refuge, the Friend" (XI. 18); but it often makes Him his enemy as mortal men know to their cost."

14. Tranquil in spirit, free from fear, steadfast in the vow of *brahmacharya*, holding his mind in control, the yogi should sit, with all his thoughts on Me, absorbed in Me.

Brahmacharya (usually translated 'celibacy') means not only sexual continence but observance of all the cardinal vows for the attainment of Brahman.

15. The yogi, who ever thus, with mind controlled, unites himself to *atman*, wins the peace which culminates in *Nirvana*, the peace that is in Me.

29. The man equipped with yoga looks on all with an impartial eye, seeing *atman* in all beings and all beings in *atman*.

30. He who sees Me everywhere and everything in Me, never vanishes from Me nor I from him.

31. The yogi who, anchored in unity, worships Me abiding in all beings, lives and moves in Me, no matter how he live and move.

So long as 'self' subsists, the Supreme Self is absent; when 'self' is extinguished, the Supreme Self is seen everywhere. Also see note on XIII. 23.

46. The yogi is deemed higher than the man of austerities; he is deemed also higher than the man of knowledge; higher is he than the man engrossed in ritual; therefore be thou a yogi, O Arjuna!

The man of austerities means the man practising them with an eye to fruit; the man of knowledge does not mean the *jnani* who has realized the truth, but a man of learning.

47. And among all yogis, he who worships Me with faith, his inmost self all rapt in Me, is deemed by Me to be the best yogi.

DISCOURSE VII

With this discourse begins an exposition of the nature of Reality and the secret of devotion.

The Lord said:

1. Hear, O Partha, how, with thy mind rivetted on Me, by practising yoga and making Me the sole refuge, thou shalt, without doubt, know Me fully.

4. Earth, Water, Fire, Air, Ether, Mind, Reason and Ego — thus eightfold is my *prakriti* divided.

This eightfold *prakriti* is substantially the same as the field described in XIII. 5 and the perishable Being in XV. 16.

5. This is My lower aspect; but know thou My other aspect, the higher —which is *jiva* (the Vital Essence) by which, O Mahabahu, this world is sustained.

6. Know that these two compose the source from which all beings spring; I am the origin and end of the entire universe.

12. Know that all the manifestations of the three *gunas*, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, proceed from none but Me; yet I am not in them, they are in Me.

God is not dependent on them, they are dependent on Him. Without Him those various manifestations would be impossible.

13. Befogged by these manifestations of the three *gunas*, the entire world fails to recognize Me, the Imperishable, as transcending them.

14. For this My divine delusive mystery made up of the three *gunas* is hard to pierce; but those who make Me their sole refuge pierce the veil.

25. Veiled by the delusive mystery created by My unique power, I am not manifest to all; this bewildered world does not recognize Me, birthless and changeless.

Having the power to create this world of sense and yet unaffected by it, He is described as having unique power.

29. Those who endeavour for freedom from age and death by taking refuge in Me, know in full that Brahman, *adhyatma* and all karma.

30. Those who know Me, including *adhibhuta*, *adhidaiva*, *adhiyajna*, possessed of even-mindedness, they know Me even at the time of passing away.

The terms in italics are defined in the next discourse the subject of which is indicated in 29-30. The sense is that every nook and cranny of the universe is filled with Brahman, that He is the sole Agent of all action, and that the man who imbued with this knowledge and faith completely surrenders himself to Him, becomes one with Him at the time of passing hence. All his desires are extinguished in his vision of Him and he wins his freedom.

DISCOURSE VIII

The nature of the Supreme is further expounded in this discourse.

Arjuna said:

1. What is that Brahman? What is *adhyatma*? What karma, O Purushottama? What is called *adhibhuta*? And what *adhidaiva*?

2. And who here in this body is *adhiyajna* and how? And how at the time of death art Thou to be known by the self-controlled?

The Lord said:

3. The Supreme, the Imperishable is Brahman; its manifestation is *adhyatma*; the creative process whereby all beings are created is called karma.

4. *Adhibhuta* is My perishable form; *adhidaiva* is the individual self in that form; and O best among the embodied, *adhiyajna* am I in this body, purified by sacrifice.

That is, from the Imperishable Unmanifest down to the perishable atom everything in the universe is the Supreme and an

expression of the Supreme. Why then should mortal man arrogate to himself authorship of anything rather than do His bidding and dedicate all action to Him?[1]

5. And he who, at the last hour remembering Me only, departs leaving the body, enters into Me; of that there is no doubt.

6. Or whatever form a man continually contemplates, that same he remembers in the hour of death, and to that very form he goes, O Kaunteya.

7. Therefore at all times remember Me and fight on; thy mind and reason thus on Me fixed thou shalt surely come to Me.[2]

8. With thought steadied by constant practice, and wandering nowhere, he who meditates on the Supreme Celestial Being, O Partha, goes to Him.

17. Those men indeed know what is Day and what is Night, who know that Brahma's day lasts a thousand *yugas* and that his night too is a thousand *yugas* long.

That is to say, our day and night of a dozen hours each are less than the infinitesimal fraction of a moment in that vast cycle of time. Pleasures pursued during these incalculably small moments

[1] Mahadev Desai explains: "Gandhiji has summed up in his brief note the gist of this quatrain for those who will not bother about technical terms. A deeply spiritual friend has obliged me with an interpretation which lights up the apparent abracadabras with a deal of meaning: The *shlokas* describe the whole process in which the Absolute becomes conditioned and from the conditioned state becomes Absolute again. (1) We have first the Impersonal, Unmanifest, Unconditioned Absolute; (2) It chose to reveal one of Its aspects —that aspect was primordial unmanifest *prakriti*—here called *adhyatma*; (3) *Prakriti* next became active—this disturbance in the equilibrium of its *gunas* was karma—work, action; (4) the next steps in the process were the countless manifestations of matter, with name and form — that is *adhibhuta*; (5) then the Absolute informed these with its Ego, i.e., became conditioned; that is *adhidaiva*; (6) but the conditioned had the potentiality to recover its pristine unconditioned state by means of giving of itself a pure sacrifice. The culmination of this self-sacrifice comes with the dissolution of the body and the merging or identification of the conditioned in the Unconditioned.

In short, it is the cycle of sacrifice that is described. The Supreme Being sacrifices Himself in the first instance and ultimately the individual sacrifices himself to be merged in the original Essence. Cf. III. 15, which describes the same cycle of sacrifice."

[2] Mahadev Desai explains: "This *shloka* should make it abundantly clear that all through in his exhortation to Arjuna to fight, it was not only the actual warfare in front of them that was meant, but the fight — moral and spiritual — that is man's lot on earth. Cf. Jesus' words: 'Whosoever would come after me, let him renounce himself and *take up his cross daily* and follow me.' It is the taking up one's cross daily, at every moment, that is meant here. See also *shloka* 14. 'Life is a perpetual striving. There is always a tempest raging in us, and struggle against temptation is a perpetual duty. The *Gita* says this in several places.' "—*Harijan*, 8-7-'33

are as illusory as a mirage. Rather than waste these brief moments, we should devote them to serving God through service of mankind. On the other hand, our time is such a small drop in the ocean of eternity that if we fail of our object here, viz., self-realization, we need not despair. We should bide our time.

18. At the coming of Day all the manifest spring forth from the Unmanifest, and at the coming of Night they are dissolved into that same Unmanifest.

Knowing this too, man should understand that he has very little power over things. The round of birth and death is ceaseless.

23. Now I will tell thee, Bharatarshabha, the conditions which determine the exemption from return, as also the return, of yogis after they pass away hence.

24. Fire, Light, Day, the Bright Fortnight, the six months of the Northern Solstice — through these departing men knowing Brahman go to Brahman.

25. Smoke, Night, the Dark Fortnight, the six months of the Southern Solstice — therethrough the yogi attains to the lunar light and thence returns.

I do not understand the meaning of these two *shlokas*. They do not seem to me to be consistent with the teaching of the *Gita*. The *Gita* teaches that he whose heart is meek with devotion, who is devoted to unattached action and has seen the Truth must win salvation, no matter when he dies. These *shlokas* seem to run counter to this. They may perhaps be stretched to mean broadly that a man of sacrifice, a man of light, a man who has known Brahman finds release from birth if he retains that enlightenment at the time of death, and that on the contrary the man who has none of these attributes goes to the world of the moon—not at all lasting—and returns to birth. The moon, after all, shines with borrowed light!

26. These two paths — bright and dark — are deemed to be the eternal paths of the world; by the one a man goes to return not, by the other he returns again.

The bright one may be taken to mean the path of knowledge and the dark one that of ignorance.

27. The yogi knowing these two paths falls not into delusion, O Partha; therefore, at all times, O Arjuna, remain steadfast in yoga.

'Will not fall into delusion' means that he who knows the two paths and has known the secret of even-mindedness will not take the path of ignorance.

28. Whatever fruit of good deeds is laid down as accruing from (a study of) the Vedas, from sacrifices, austerities, and acts of charity — all that the yogi transcends, on knowing this, and reaches the Supreme and Primal Abode.

He who has achieved even-mindedness by dint of devotion, knowledge and service not only obtains the fruit of all his good actions, but also wins salvation.

DISCOURSE IX

This discourse reveals the glory of devotion.

4. By Me, unmanifest in form, this whole world is pervaded; all beings are in Me, I am not in them.

5. And yet those beings are not in Me. That indeed is my unique power as Lord! Sustainer of all beings, I am not in them; My Self brings them into existence.

The sovereign power of God lies in this mystery, this miracle, that all beings are in Him and yet not in Him, He is in them and yet not in them. This is the description of God in the language of mortal man. Indeed He soothes man by revealing to him all His aspects by using all kinds of paradoxes. All beings are in Him inasmuch as all creation is His; but as He transcends it all as He really is not the author of it all, it may be said with equal truth that the beings are not in Him. He really is in all His true devotees, He is *not*, according to them, in those who deny Him. What is this if not a mystery, a miracle of God?

11. Not knowing My transcendent nature as the sovereign Lord of all beings, fools condemn Me incarnated as man.

For they deny the existence of God and do not recognize the Director in the human body.

20. Followers of the three Vedas, who drink the *soma* juice and are purged of sin, worship Me with sacrifice and pray for going to heaven; they reach the holy world of the gods and enjoy in heaven the divine joys of the gods.

The reference is to the sacrificial ceremonies and rites in vogue in the days of the *Gita*. We cannot definitely say what they were like nor what the *soma* juice exactly was.

21. They enjoy the vast world of heaven, and their merit spent, they enter the world of the mortals; thus those who, following the Vedic law, long for the fruit of their action earn but the round of birth and death.

22. As for those who worship Me, thinking on Me alone and nothing else, ever attached to Me, I bear the burden of getting them what they need.

There are thus three unmistakable marks of a true yogi or *bhakta*—even-mindedness, skill in action, undivided devotion. These three must be completely harmonized in a yogi. Without devotion there is no even-mindedness, without even-mindedness no devotion, and without skill in action devotion and even-mindedness might well be a pretence.

23. Even those who, devoted to other gods, worship them in full faith, even they, O Kaunteya, worship none but Me, though not according to the rule.

"Not according to the rule" means not knowing Me as the Impersonal and the Absolute.

26. Any offering of leaf, flower, fruit or water, made to Me in devotion by an earnest soul, I lovingly accept.

That is to say, it is the Lord in every being whom we serve with devotion who accepts the service.

27. Whatever thou doest, whatever thou eatest, whatever thou offerest as sacrifice or gift, whatever austerity thou dost perform, O Kaunteya, dedicate all to Me.

28. So doing thou shalt be released from the bondage of action, yielding good and evil fruit; having accomplished both renunciation and performance, thou shalt be released (from birth and death) and come unto Me.

29. I am the same to all beings; with Me there is none disfavoured, none favoured; but those who worship Me with devotion are in Me and I in them.

30. A sinner, howsoever great, if he turns to Me with undivided devotion, must indeed be counted a saint; for he has a settled resolve.

The undivided devotion subdues both his passions and his evil deeds.

31. For soon he becomes righteous and wins everlasting peace; know for a certainty, O Kaunteya, that My *bhakta* never perishes.

DISCOURSE X

For the benefit of His devotees, the Lord gives in this discourse a glimpse of His divine manifestations.

36. Of deceivers I am the dice-play; of the splendid, the splendour; I am victory, I am resolution, I am the goodness of the good.

The 'dice-play of deceivers' need not alarm one. For the good and evil nature of things is not the matter in question, it is the directing and immanent power of God that is being described. Let the deceivers also know that they are under God's rule and judgment and put away their pride and deceit.

39. Whatever is the seed of every being, O Arjuna, that am I; there is nothing whether moving or fixed, that can be without Me.

40. There is no end to my divine manifestations; what extent of them I have told thee now is only by way of illustration.

41. Whatever is glorious, beautiful and mighty, know thou that all such has issued from a fragment of My splendour.

DISCOURSE XI

In this discourse the Lord reveals to Arjuna's vision what Arjuna has heard with his ear—the Universal Form of the Lord. This discourse is a favourite with the bhaktas. Here there is no argument, there is pure poetry. Its solemn music[1] *reverberates in one's ears and it is not possible to tire of reading it again and again.*

53. Not by the Vedas, not by penance nor by gifts, nor yet by sacrifice, can any behold Me in the Form that thou hast seen.

54. But by single-minded devotion, O Arjuna, I may in this Form be known and seen, and truly entered into, O Parantapa!

DISCOURSE XII

Thus we see that vision of God is possible only through single-minded devotion. Contents of devotion must follow as a matter of course. This twelfth discourse should be learnt by heart even if all the discourses are not. It is one of the shortest. The marks of a devotee should be carefully noted.

Arjuna said:

1. Of the devotees who thus worship Thee, incessantly attached, and those who worship the Imperishable Unmanifest, which are the better yogis?

The Lord said:

5. The greater is the travail of those whose mind is fixed on the Unmanifest; for it is hard for embodied mortals to gain the Unmanifest—Goal.

Mortal man can only imagine the Unmanifest, the Impersonal, and as his language fails him he often negatively describes It as 'Neti', 'Neti' (Not That, Not That). And so even iconoclasts are at bottom no better than idol-worshippers. To worship a book, to go to a church, or to pray with one's face in a particular direction—all these are forms of worshipping the Formless in an image or idol. And yet both the idol-breaker and

[1] Mahadev Desai explains: "The music, of course, of the original! In translation, 'the glory is gone'. For a very free rendering which brings out some at least of the haunting music of the original the reader must go to Sir Edwin Arnold's flowing stanzas."

the idol-worshipper cannot lose sight of the fact that there is something which is beyond all form, Unthinkable, Formless, Impersonal, Changeless. The highest goal of the devotee is to become one with the object of his devotion. The *bhakta* extinguishes himself and merges into, becomes, Bhagavan. This state can best be reached by devoting oneself to some form, and so it is said that the short cut to the Unmanifest is really the longest and the most difficult.

6. But those who casting all their actions on Me, making Me their all in all, worship Me with the meditation of undivided devotion,

7. Of such, whose thoughts are centred on Me, O Partha, I become ere long the Deliverer from the ocean of this world of death.

12. Better is knowledge than practice, better than knowledge is concentration, better than concentration is renunciation of the fruit of all action, from which directly issues peace.

'Practice' (*abhyasa*) is the practice of the yoga of meditation and control of psychic processes; 'knowledge' (*jnana*) is intellectual effort; 'concentration' (*dhyana*) is devoted worship. If as a result of all this there is no renunciation of the fruit of action, 'practice' is no 'practice', 'knowledge' is no 'knowledge', and 'concentration' is no 'concentration'.

DISCOURSE XIII

This discourse treats of the distinction between the body (not-Self) and atman (the Self).

1. This body, O Kaunteya, is called the Field; he who knows it is called the knower of the Field by those who know.

2. And understand Me to be, O Bharata, the knower of the Field in all the Fields; and the knowledge of the Field and the knower of the Field, I hold, is true knowledge.

3. What that Field is, what its nature, what its modifications, and whence is what, as also who He is, and what His power—hear this briefly from Me.

4. This subject has been sung by seers distinctly and in various ways, in different hymns as also in aphoristic texts about Brahman well reasoned and unequivocal.

5. The great elements, Individuation, Reason, the Unmanifest, the ten senses, and the one (Mind), and the five spheres of the senses;

6. Desire, dislike, pleasure, pain, association, consciousness, cohesion—this, in sum, is what is called the Field with its modifications.

The great elements are Earth, Water, Fire, Air and Ether, 'Individuation' is the thought of I, or that the body is 'I', the

'Unmanifest' is *prakriti* or *maya*; the ten senses are the five senses of perception—smell, taste, sight, touch and hearing, and the five organs of action, viz., the hands, the feet, the tongue, and the two organs of excretion. The five spheres or objects of the senses are smell, savour, form, touch and sound. 'Association' is the property of the different organs to co-operate. *Dhriti* is not patience or constancy but cohesion, i.e., the property of all the atoms in the body to hold together; from 'individuation' springs this cohesion. Individuation is inherent in the unmanifest *prakriti.* The undeluded man is he who can cast off this individuation or ego, and having done so the shock of an inevitable thing like death and the pairs of opposites caused by sense-contacts fail to affect him. The Field, subject to all its modifications, has to be abandoned in the end by the enlightened and the unenlightened alike.

11. Settled conviction of the nature of the *atman,* perception of the goal of the knowledge of Truth, —

All this is declared to be knowledge and the reverse of it is ignorance.

12. I will (now) expound to thee that which is to be known and knowing which one enjoys immortality; it is the supreme Brahman which has no beginning, which is called neither Being nor non-Being.

The Supreme can be described neither as Being nor as non-Being. It is beyond definition or description, above all attributes.

15. Without all beings, yet within; immovable yet moving; so subtle that it cannot be perceived; so far and yet so near It is.

He who knows It is within It, close to It; mobility and immobility, peace and restlessness, we owe to It, for It has motion and yet is motionless.

20. *Prakriti* is described as the cause in the creation of effects from causes; *Purusha* is described as the cause of the experiencing of pleasure and pain.

21. For the *purusha,* residing in *prakriti,* experiences the *gunas* born of *prakriti*; attachment to these *gunas* is the cause of his birth in good or evil wombs.

Prakriti in common parlance is *maya. Purusha* is the *jiva. Jiva* acting in accordance with his nature experiences the fruit of actions arising out of the three *gunas.*

22. What is called in this body the Witness, the Assentor, the Sustainer, the Experiencer, the Great Lord and also the Supreme *Atman,* is the Supreme Being.

23. He who thus knows *purusha* and *prakriti* with its *gunas*, is not born again, no matter how he live and move.

Read in the light of discourses II, XI, and XII this *shloka* may not be taken to support any kind of libertinism. It shows the virtue of self-surrender and selfless devotion. All actions bind the self, but if all are dedicated to the Lord they do not bind, rather they release him. He who has thus extinguished the 'self' or the thought of 'I' and who acts as ever in the great Witness's eye, will never sin nor err. The self-sense is at the root of all error or sin. Where the 'I' has been extinguished, there is no sin. This *shloka* shows how to steer clear of all sin.

27. Who sees abiding in all beings the same Parameshvara, imperishable in the perishable, he sees indeed.

28. When he sees the same Ishvara abiding everywhere alike, he does not hurt himself by himself and hence he attains the highest goal.

He who sees the same God everywhere merges in Him and sees naught else; he thus does not yield to passion, does not become his own foe and thus attains Freedom.

29. Who sees that it is *prakriti* that performs all actions and thus (knows) that *atman* performs them not, he sees indeed.

Just as, in the case of a man who is asleep, his 'Self' is not the agent of sleep, but *prakriti*, even so the enlightened man will detach his 'Self' from all activities. To the pure everything is pure. *Prakriti* is not unchaste, it is when arrogant man takes her as wife that of these twain passion is born.

30. When he sees the diversity of beings as founded in unity and the whole expanse issuing therefrom, then he attains to Brahman.

To realize that everything rests in Brahman is to attain to the state of Brahman. Then *jiva* becomes Siva.

DISCOURSE XIV

The description of prakriti naturally leads on to that of its constituents, the gunas, which form the subject of this discourse. And that, in turn, leads on to a description of the marks of him who has passed beyond the three gunas. These are practically the same as those of the man of secure understanding (II. 54-72) as also those of the ideal bhakta (XII. 12-20).

19. When the seer perceives no agent other than the *gunas*, and knows Him who is above the *gunas*, he attains to My being.

As soon as a man realizes that he is not the doer, but the *gunas* are the agent, the 'self' vanishes, and he goes through all

his actions spontaneously, just to sustain the body. And as the body is meant to subserve the highest end, all his actions will ever reveal detachment and dispassion. Such a seer can easily have a glimpse of the One who is above the *gunas* and offer his devotion to Him.

20. When the embodied one transcends these three *gunas* which are born of his contact with the body, he is released from the pain of birth, death and age and attains deathlessness.

Arjuna said:

21. What, O Lord, are the marks of him who has transcended the three *gunas*? How does he conduct himself? How does he transcend the three *gunas*?

The Lord said:

22. He, O Pandava, who does not disdain light, activity, and delusion when they come into being, nor desires them when they vanish;

23. He who, seated as one indifferent, is not shaken by the *gunas*, and stays still and moves not, knowing it is *gunas* playing their parts;

24. He who holds pleasure and pain alike, who is sedate, who regards as same earth, stone and gold, who is wise and weighs in equal scale things pleasant and unpleasant, who is even-minded in praise and blame;

25. Who holds alike respect and disrespect, who is the same to friend and foe, who indulges in no undertakings — that man is called *gunatita.*

Shls. 22-25 must be read and considered together. Light, activity and delusion, as we have seen in the foregoing *shlokas*, are the products or indications of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, respectively. The inner meaning of these verses is that he who has transcended the *gunas* will be unaffected by them. A stone does not desire light, nor does it disdain activity or inertness; it is still, without having the will to be so. If someone puts it into motion, it does not fret; if again it is allowed to lie still, it does not feel that inertness or delusion has seized it. The difference between a stone and a *gunatita* is that the latter has full consciousness and with full knowledge he shakes himself free from the bonds that bind an ordinary mortal. He has, as a result of his knowledge, achieved the repose of a stone. Like the stone he is witness, but not the doer, of the activities of the *gunas* or *prakriti*. Of such *jnani* one may say that he is sitting still, unshaken in the knowledge that it is the *gunas* playing their parts. We who are every moment of our lives acting as though *we* were the doers can only imagine the state, we can hardly experience it. But we can hitch our waggon to that star and work our way closer and closer towards it by gradually withdrawing the self from our actions. A *gunatita* has experience of his own condition but he cannot describe it, for he who

can describe it ceases to be one. The moment he proceeds to do so, 'self' peeps in. The peace and light and bustle and inertness of our common experience are illusory. The *Gita* itself has made it clear in so many words that the *sattvik* state is the one nearest that of a *gunatita*. Therefore everyone should strive to develop more and more *sattva* in himself, believing that some day he will reach the goal of the state of *gunatita*.

DISCOURSE XV

This discourse deals with the Supreme Form of the Lord, transcending kshara (perishable) and akshara (imperishable).

The Lord said:

1. With its root above and branches below the *ashvattha* tree, they say, is imperishable; it has Vedic hymns for its leaves; he who knows it knows the Vedas.

Shvah means tomorrow, and *ashvattha* (*na shvopi sthata*) means that which will not last even until tomorrow, i.e., the world of sense which is every moment in a state of flux. But even though it is perpetually changing, as its root is Brahman or the Supreme, it is imperishable. It has for its protection and support the leaves of the Vedic hymns, i.e., dharma. He who knows the world of sense as such and who knows dharma is the real *jnani*, that man has really known the Vedas.

2. Above and below its branches spread, blossoming because of the *gunas*, having for their shoots the sense-objects; deep down in the world of men are ramified its roots, in the shape of the consequences of action.

This is the description of the tree of the world of sense as the unenlightened see it. They fail to discover its Root above in Brahman and so they are always attached to the objects of sense. They water the tree with the three *gunas* and remain bound to karma in the world of men.

3. Its form as such is not here perceived, neither is its end, nor beginning, nor basis. Let man first hew down this deep-rooted *ashvattha* with the sure weapon of detachment;

4. Let him pray to win to that haven from which there is no return and seek to find refuge in the Primal Being from whom has emanated this ancient world of action.

'Detachment' in *shl.* 3 here means dispassion, aversion from the objects of the senses. Unless man is determined to cut himself off from the temptations of the world of sense he will go deeper

into its mire every day. These verses show that one dare not play with the objects of the senses with impunity.

7. A part indeed of Myself which has been the eternal *jiva* in this world of life, attracts the mind and the five senses from their place in *prakriti*.

9. Having settled Himself in the senses — ear, eye, touch, taste, and smell — as well as the mind, through them He frequents their objects.

These objects are the natural objects of the senses. The frequenting or enjoyment of these would be tainted if there were the sense of 'I' about it; otherwise it is pure, even as a child's enjoyment of these objects is innocent.

11. Yogis who strive see Him seated in themselves; the witless ones who have not cleansed themselves see Him not, even though they strive.

This does not conflict with the covenant that God has made even with the sinner in discourse 9. *Akritatman* (अकृतात्मन् : who has not cleansed himself) means one who has no devotion in him, who has not made up his mind to purify himself. The most confirmed sinner, if he has humility enough to seek refuge in surrender to God, purifies himself and succeeds in finding Him. Those who do not care to observe the cardinal and the casual vows and expect to find God through bare intellectual exercise are witless, Godless; they will not find Him.

DISCOURSE XVI

This discourse treats of the divine and the devilish heritage.

23. He who forsakes the rule of Shastra and does but the bidding of his selfish desires, gains neither perfection, nor happiness, nor the highest state.

Shastra does not mean the rites and formulae laid down in the so-called Dharmashastra, but the path of self-restraint laid down by the seers and the saints.

24. Therefore let Shastra be thy authority for determining what ought to be done and what ought not to be done; ascertain thou the rule of the Shastra and do thy task here (accordingly).

Shastra here too has the same meaning as in the preceding *shloka*. Let no one be a law unto himself, but take as his authority the law laid down by men who have known and lived religion.

DISCOURSE XVII

On being asked to consider Shastra (conduct of the worthy) as the authority, Arjuna is faced with a difficulty. What is the position of those who may not be able to accept the authority of Shastra but who may act

in faith? An answer to the question is attempted in this discourse. Krishna rests content with pointing out the rocks and shoals on the path of one who forsakes the beaconlight of Shastra (conduct of the worthy). In doing so he deals with faith and sacrifice, austerity and charity performed with faith, and their divisions according to the spirit in which they are performed. He also sings the greatness of the mystic syllables AUM TAT SAT—a formula of dedication of all work to God.

23. AUM TAT SAT has been declared to be the threefold name of Brahman and by that name were created of old the *Brahmanas*, the Vedas and sacrifices.

24. Therefore, with AUM ever on their lips, are all the rites of sacrifice, charity and austerity, performed always according to the rule, by *Brahmavadins*.

25. With the utterance of TAT and without the desire for fruit are the several rites of sacrifice, austerity and charity performed by those seeking Freedom.

26. SAT is employed in the sense of 'real' and 'good'; O Partha, SAT is also applied to beautiful deeds.

27. Constancy in sacrifice, austerity and charity is called SAT; and all work for these purposes is also SAT.

The substance of the last four *shlokas* is that every action should be done in a spirit of complete dedication to God. For AUM alone is the only Reality. That only which is dedicated to It counts.

DISCOURSE XVIII

This concluding discourse sums up the teaching of the Gita. It may be said to be summed up in the following: "Abandon all duties and come to Me, the only Refuge" (66). *That is true renunciation. But abandonment of all duties does not mean abandonment of actions; it means the abandonment of the desire for fruit. Even the highest act of service must be dedicated to Him, without the desire. That is tyaga (abandonment), that is sannyasa (renunciation).*

17. He who is free from all sense of 'I', whose motive is untainted, slays not nor is bound, even though he slay all these worlds.

This *shloka* though seemingly somewhat baffling is not really so. The *Gita* on many occasions presents the ideal to attain which the aspirant has to strive but which may not be possible completely to realize in the world. It is like definitions in geometry. A perfect straight line does not exist, but it is necessary to imagine it in order to prove the various propositions. Even so, it is necessary to hold up ideals of this nature as standards for imitation in matters of conduct. This then would seem to be the meaning of this *shloka*: He who has made ashes of 'self', whose motive is untainted, may slay the whole world, if he will. But in reality he

who has annihilated 'self' has annihilated his flesh too, and he whose motive is untainted sees the past, present and future. Such a being can be one and only one—God. He acts and yet is no doer, slays and yet is no slayer. For mortal man the royal road—the conduct of the worthy—is ever before him, viz., ahimsa—holding all life sacred.

36. Hear now from Me, O Bharatarshabha, the three kinds of pleasure. Pleasure which is enjoyed only by repeated practice, and which puts an end to pain,

37. Which, in its inception, is as poison, but in the end as nectar, born of the serene realization of the true nature of *atman*—that pleasure is said to be *sattvik*.

47. Better one's own duty, though uninviting, than another's which may be more easily performed; doing duty which accords with one's nature, one incurs no sin.

The central teaching of the *Gita* is detachment—abandonment of the fruit of action. And there would be no room for this abandonment if one were to prefer another's duty to one's own. Therefore one's own duty is said to be better than another's. It is the spirit in which duty is done that matters, and its unattached performance is its own reward.

68. He who will propound this supreme mystery to My devotees, shall, by that act of highest devotion to Me, surely come to Me.

69. Nor among men is there any who renders dearer service to Me than he; nor shall there be on earth any more beloved by Me than he.

It is only he who has himself gained the knowledge and lived it in his life that can declare it to others. These two *shlokas* cannot possibly have any reference to him who, no matter how he conducts himself, can give a flawless reading and interpretation of the *Gita* while conducting himself anyhow.

The Gita according to Gandhi

85. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

KAUSANI,
June 28, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

Yesterday I completed my work on the *Gita* and experienced a profound delight. I hope I have carefully gone through everything. I have put in as much as I could digest from Kaka's notes. I have finished the preface.

I see from your letter that you will reach the Ashram about the same time as I.

Padam Singh's [death][1] was a greater shock than Rasik's[2]. It was not the shock of death but of my own dimness. But I deliberately omitted to observe a fast. If death is something that should be welcomed, why observe a fast on its account? On the occasion of this terrible death also, having again reasoned in the same way, I had my evening meal, although the time for it had almost passed. I had eaten in the morning. After this the death occurred. The day before his death Padam Singh had talked to me about his death with a quiet mind, saying, "If I do not survive, bless my son". I told him I would take him to the Ashram, and if he wished it I would make arrangements for him at his own house. He replied, "I do not ask for this, it is not necessary. What I need is your blessing." I reassured him. After his death Mohan Joshi enquired after his relatives. Govind Vallabh Pant had initiated a collection. But the relatives refused to accept so much as a cowrie. "We want the Mahatma's blessings, nothing more." There is here as much heroism as grief. This whole family seems to be brave; or maybe all the villagers in this province are like this. They sell milk. Everyone has his own little piece of land. The people are poor but not helpless; they are generous [though] penniless. The hill people daily visit this forest which looks uninhabited, and leave behind something [for us]. Now I am doing nothing with the cheque except returning it to you. If the person who gave it wishes to have it back give it to him and if he does not send it to the Ashram, we shall utilize the amount for the Prem Vidyalaya here. Please let me have the reply to this at the Ashram itself. This will be posted tomorrow, you could get it on Tuesday when I leave this place. On the 5th in Delhi the whole day will be taken up by the Working Committee. On the 5th evening I start for the Ashram.

It is most important that Vallabhbhai does not leave Simla in a hurry. The article about Bardoli ought to be seen, although it has been despatched. It is good that you have thought of a pilgrimage to Kotdal. Reaching this spot is also a good thing. Tell Stokes I often remember him. I wish the complaint of piles is cured for good. How is it you never mention anything about Vithalbhai's health?

[1] *Vide* pp. 86-7.

[2] Son of Harilal Gandhi, Gandhiji's eldest son; *vide* Vol. XL, pp. 13-4 & 28-30.

I got the letter about Gregg's marriage only this week, though I had the news earlier from Andrews's letter.

Panditji had suggested a medicine to Sir T. Vijayaraghavachari. I had asked it to be sent from the Ashram. Did he get it or not? And did he get the letter I asked Pyarelal to write telling how it is to be administered?

I shall go through what you have written about Dashkroi. I shall write what I can. I had believed that the postal department in Simla would be wide awake and took it for granted that the Speaker's Quarters at any rate would be known to all the postal employees.

While returning from Bageshwar I was drenched in the rain for two hours; that again while sitting in a *doli*. I had no strength to walk. With wet clothes we had to drive up to the next stop and climb another three thousand feet. As a result I had fever for two days. I was expecting a temperature today but it is normal. Including what I had yesterday, I have so far taken six grains of quinine. My experiment in diet continues. It has not failed totally. I cannot say it has been successful. I have no more doubt that such food can be digested. I have yet to see to what extent it is superior to cooked food. You may not worry about this. That I derive the deepest joy from this experiment should be enough for all friends.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not read this again.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11454

86. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

KAUSANI,
June 28, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL (JOSHI),

I could finish the *Gita* work earlier than I had expected—that is, last night. I have, therefore, time to write.

You quite misunderstood my statement about the *Gita*. Now I shall have to hang my head in shame after I return to the Ashram, for I have not learnt a single verse by heart while here. Nor was it my intention to do so. I assumed that you knew that my translation of the *Gita* had not been revised. In any case this must have been clear from the next letter.

Kusum's thinking that you would leave the Ashram in my absence indicates that she has judged you at less than your worth. I wonder what she must have seen in your life to form such an estimate. Never even in a dream has it occurred to me that you would for a moment leave the Ashram during my absence or without consulting me, and for a selfish end.

You should certainly pay more attention to all your children. Both of you should watch them more carefully and see that they come round. I can understand Ramabehn's strong desire to go somewhere outside the Ashram. It should be satisfied. It would even be better if you can send her away soon.

Tell Surendra that Giriraj still cannot take up the work of the tannery. It is Surendra's work to draft its report. If he does not or cannot attend to it, then Valji should do it. In any case, the burden should not fall on you.

So after all Bhansali has started a fast. I have not seen Kishorelal's speech. Show it to me when I arrive there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5423

87. LETTER TO JETHALAL JOSHI

KAUSANI,
June 28, 1929

BHAI JETHALAL,

I have your postcard. I am not competent to reduce the subscription in the form of hand-spun yarn. A thousand a month ought to be an easy job for you. As far as I remember it would fulfil [the provision of] the Goseva Sangha's constitution[1] if you continue your efforts in regard to milk.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1348

[1] *Vide* Appendix I.

88. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

KAUSANI,
June 28, 1929

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I have your letter. I could write this letter because I have finished the work that I had resolved to do.

Such deserving women as Bhaktibehn can certainly become volunteers. Regarding Durbarsaheb, real permission can be had from Vallabhbhai. The satyagraha in connection with Pandit Sunderlal's book cannot be offered in a native State. The prize for the spinning-wheel could not be announced on account of my absence. The amendments from Devchandbhai should go to the Committee which was appointed in connection with this announcement since they relate to fundamentals. . . .[1] I understand about Manilal. What you say is correct.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9297. Courtesy: Shardabehn Shah

89. TELEGRAM TO NAGESHWARA RAO[2]

[On or after *June 29, 1929*]

NAGESHWARARAO
AMRUTANJAN
MADRAS

CAN YOU GUARANTEE REPAYMENT SEVEN THOUSAND WITHIN SIX MONTHS? REPLY KASHIPUR.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15410

[1] A few incomplete sentences which yield no meaning are omitted here.

[2] In reply to a telegram dated June 28 from Nageshwara Rao and Ganesan, Madras, received at Almora on June 29 which read: "Request early attention telegram and letter, Matters critical."

90. A QUANDARY

A young man has written a long letter about the quandary facing him. Following is its summary:

> I am 24. I passed the matriculation in 1923. Since then I have been in continuous employment. I have been putting on pure khadi since 1921. I was married in 1924. We are four brothers and four sisters. My mother is alive.
>
> I came to understand my country and swadeshi since 1920-21. And thereafter I have worn khadi, regarding that as my duty. But that much does not satisfy me. I very much feel inclined to join the fight for swaraj. But because of the immaturity of my thought and of vacillation between my duty to my parents and that to my country, I have had to mark time.
>
> Our financial condition is not sound; on the contrary we are in debt. But I feel that it is not easy to pay off the debts while having to meet expenses demanded by society.
>
> The reason why I say all this to you is that since 1921 I was feeling that when my father's economic condition permitted him to meet his daily wants comfortably and he had paid off his debts, I would join the fight for swaraj and be used up.
>
> The plight to which the families in Orissa, Madras and other places have been reduced by the foreign Government's policy of loot and plunder will also be ours and that of every family if that policy continues; because every year our country continues to waste its valuable manpower in addition to losing crores of rupees. Hence in the present condition of the country every man must, if for no other reason, at any rate for the benefit of his family, join in the fight for swaraj.
>
> When I place these thoughts before my parents and seek their approval, they are deeply hurt and feel that I am not discharging my debt to them. And they argue that one does not burn down one's house to go on a pilgrimage, that service to one's family comes before service to country, that I should help the family with money and should continue to support the old evil practices of society, staying within their sight.
>
> I have great regard for my family. They are willing to see me happy in every way. But they do not like my idea and as a consequence our relations are strained.

It is about eight days since I commenced spinning and I shall spin all my life because I have unshakable faith in the spinning-wheel. For the last seven years or so, there has been an inward conflict in me; however, I have been able to maintain reasonable self-control.

It is now two years since my wife stopped buying foreign cloth; now she purchases pure khadi.

Other people in my house buy and wear foreign clothes. For the last fifteen days they have been promising to wear khadi if I stay on, but perhaps that may be only in order to stop me from leaving.

I am ready to offer any sacrifice for the sake of the country.

Such a quandary faces many young men. In this transitional stage, there will certainly appear to be a contradiction between service to family and service to country. Parents will desire one thing, youths understanding the country's plight will desire another thing. At such a juncture, there cannot be the same way out in every case and it is not for an outsider to indicate it. The way prompted by one's inner voice alone is the true way out. Prahlad did not disobey his father at another's instance. Nor does everyone hear the inner voice. Only he hears it whose heart has been purified by self-control. What inner voice can a drunkard ever have? Would an adulterer commit adultery if he acted in accordance with his inner voice?

One should not hastily go against one's father's command or wish. He who has brought us up has the right to command us, we have certain duties towards him. But we see that the parents of today act selfishly. Moreover, some of them do not at all know their duty to their country; some of them are faint of heart; some are blind to their duty. It may be questioned how far it is one's duty to carry out the commands of such parents.

Considering all this, it is difficult to offer definite advice in a case like this. But a number of general rules can be suggested.

1. Whenever parents give a piece of advice out of selfishness, it can be rejected courteously.

2. When parents ask to be served and if this cannot be done in any other way, it is the son's duty to serve them.

3. But just as a son who has turned a sannyasi cannot run to the rescue of his parents even when they are in difficulty, so too the son who has dedicated his all to serving the country cannot abandon the service of his country.

4. When parents expect more from their son than is required to meet their true needs, the son has a right to refuse their

demand. As for example, it is the son's duty not to satisfy the wishes of his parents when they desire to incur undue expenditure on a wedding.

5. If the parents want their son to commit *adharma*, it is never a duty to do it.

6. There is no contradiction between pure service to country and pure service to family. This contradiction can occur only between something supposed to be service to family and something supposed to be service to country.

It is hardly necessary to add to these rules or to frame subtler rules. Where constant thought is being given to what duty is, one automatically knows what one's duty is in a given situation. Every reader should regard the above rules merely as pointers. Where there is *viveka* and *vichara*,[1] it is easy to know one's duty.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-6-1929

91. SMALLPOX AND CHOLERA

A reader writes:[2]

As long as we are ignorant and we malign women, the reign of superstition will continue. Superstition is there even in educated Europe and America. So long as man has the craving to live, etc., so long will superstition continue in greater or less degree. But as we limit our cravings, so will superstition be on the decline.

But where a superstition can be recognized clearly, an attempt should be made to remove it. Many people waste money in getting evil spirits exorcized during sickness and die prematurely. In the case of a disease like smallpox, where generally no medicine is administered, superstition establishes a firmer sway. Even the goddess of smallpox gets a fair share of it. The religious instinct is not at the bottom of this, but the craving to live. I am firmly convinced that vows, etc., which are made merely to cure smallpox are a superstition and deserve to be discarded.

It has been proved that smallpox mostly results from insanitation. In fact one whose blood has lost its vitality catches the in-

[1] Discrimination and thoughtfulness

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that there was an epidemic of smallpox and cholera and a number of superstitions were prevalent about these maladies. He had also asked whether Gandhiji had modified the views given in his book on health.

fection. The disease is not as devastating as is believed. I have found no ground to modify what I have written in my book on health. It is my experience in many cases that the disease is cured by proper care. The patient ought to be provided enough air and light. His clothes must be changed daily. It is the experience of many doctors that hydropathy is beneficial. Nowadays even chromo-therapy is pressed into service. But the object here is not to suggest remedies for smallpox, but to deprecate prevailing superstitions and to get them discarded as well as to lessen the fear of the disease. Treatment must be sought at the hands of some knowledgeable and benevolent vaid or doctor or one should acquire knowledge of hydropathy, etc., and master the treatment oneself.

Vaccination as a preventive remedy against smallpox is well known and, in general, doctors set great store by it. In many countries, it has even been made compulsory. I myself do not believe in it. So far as prevention of smallpox is concerned, it does help a little. Even if it does prevent its onset, it produces a number of other complications. My opposition to it is more on religious grounds. In order to produce the smallpox vaccine, innumerable animals are tortured and it passes my understanding how vegetarians can ever take such vaccine. But those who do not get themselves vaccinated ought to know and follow the rules of sanitation; they should not blindly imitate a person like me in this matter. Social laws cannot be disregarded thoughtlessly. And if one is compelled to break them, one must put up even with the inconvenience arising from such breach. No one has the right to endanger society through his obstinacy. Hence, when smallpox spreads in a community which believes in vaccination, those who do not believe in it should, in addition to observing the rules of sanitation, segregate themselves voluntarily from that society.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-6-1929

92. ANGUISH OF "A HINDU YOUTH"

"A Hindu Youth" writes as follows:[1]

Being a coward, he holds back his name. It is a good rule not to take cognizance of anonymous letters. This youth had no reason to feel ashamed to communicate to me his name. There was no fear at all of his name being published without his wish. But the poet's assertion that "cowards die many times before their death" is true indeed. Fewer people die of a disease itself than from fear of it. People who suffer from the fear of a certain thing do not suffer so much when the thing itself comes to pass. There is nothing in this letter to be ashamed of. If there is shame at all, it is in doing an evil thing, not in exposing what has been done. On account of our not understanding this golden principle, we commit grave sins and turn hypocrites. Hence people like "A Hindu Youth" must get over fear.

I publish at times letters like the one under reference because, despite being anonymous, they contain matter which applies to many people. This letter is of that sort. The condition of many Hindu youths is similar to this young man's. The narrowness of caste and Hindu society's slavery to convention today are at the root of it. Instead of tradition following religion, religion is playing second fiddle to tradition. Conduct contrary to the caste is regarded as irreligious. There may be many vices current in the caste system, but, since it is an all-purifying Ganga it has come to be regarded as faultless and as having the power to change vice into virtue. Because the practice of putting on the vertical mark of one's sect[2] on one's forehead has been handed down through generations, it is regarded as part of religion and if one does not put it on because it has become a symbol of hypocrisy or for some such strong reason, he is regarded as having forsaken his religion. Thus by surrendering to convention we became emasculated and finally even lost our country. The slavery born in one field proved all-pervasive.

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that he had to support a large family on a moderate income. There was a dearth of marriageable girls in his sub-caste, and one had to pay as much as Rs. 5,000 for getting a bride and so he had little hope of marrying. In his frustration, all manner of thoughts assailed his mind. He had pleaded for Gandhiji's advice.

[2] The Vaishnava sect

It has become the duty of forward-looking youths to destroy this tradition of castes. Nevertheless, a number of youths, instead of doing their duty, out of weakness break the restraints imposed by castes mentally and in secret action wherever opportunity offers. And yet they keep up the external pretence of observing them. The Shastras call this dishonest conduct.

Hence in predicaments like the one facing "A Hindu Youth", one has to show courage and hew down the tree of convention. The young man has entertained perverse thoughts because of his firm belief that one may not break the imaginary or artificial restraint imposed by caste. He wants to marry in order to satisfy his sexual urge. If he has money, he is ready to buy a bride and then he would pretend that the action fell out of the category of sexual indulgence because it could be called a marriage. If such adultery approved by custom or some other pretence is not possible, he is tempted to commit open adultery even. And if he holds himself in check, it is because he is afraid of appearing bad in the eyes of people. If, however, all these things fail him, he also entertains ultimately the thought of giving up his religion. This is the limit of cowardice. He who has even a little understanding of religion can have no excuse whatever to give up his religion. A religion cannot be put on and put off like a garment. It is more precious than even the body. A body is born and it dies. Religion has taught us clearly that it is connected with the soul and cannot be changed. The rot that has set in in religion can be got rid of, but religion cannot be given up. How can one give up a religion in which the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Puranas were composed, in which myriads of men performed lifelong *tapascharya*, a religion whose adherents' bones have added lustre to the Himalayas and blood has made the trees and flowers of the Himalayas blossom forth? It is the reformers alone who have maintained this religion in a state of splendour by cutting down the dead wood of tradition. In opposing tradition men like the Buddha, Mahavir, Shankar, Ramanuja, Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya, Rammohan Roy, Ramakrishna, Dayananda, Vivekananda and others have pointed out the way to us. These reformers, far from abandoning their religion, kept it fragrant and preserved it by breaking down bad traditions.

They were great; therefore they became famous as reformers. We may not be known as reformers, but it is our duty within our limited field to save our religion by pulling down irreligion wherever the latter holds sway by usurping the place of religion.

"A Hindu Youth" should now understand:

1. The married state is not meant for the purpose of sexual indulgence. It is for preserving the sacred love between man and woman and also for progeny. Moreover, when both are possessed of passion, religion permits its satisfaction while observing certain limits. People have held that the less such liberty is taken, the better it is. Sexual union outside marriage or even union with one's married partner merely for the satisfaction of one's sexual urge is adultery.

2. Adopting this attitude towards marriage, the "Youth" should seek a wife.

3. He should make a vow not to offer even a cowrie or pice by way of bribe while making that quest.

4. He should apply to his caste to secure such a girl for him.

5. If he does not secure one, having notified his caste he should look for a girl belonging to the varna of his caste and should have confidence that if he has worth in him, he will get a suitable girl. If he is not worthy, he should try to become so. In doing this his passion will abate and it will be easy for him to be patient in obtaining a girl.

6. If he does not get a girl of the same varna since the varna system has now become weak and exists in name only, he should secure a girl from any other varna.

7. If he cannot get a maiden, he should marry a widow.

8. If he has the courage to effect reform in his caste, then even if he can get a girl from his own caste he should, in order to break the practice of marrying from the circle of sub-castes, insist on finding a girl of the same varna but from another caste.

9. If he has the courage to introduce a reform in regard to widow-remarriage and if he has the requisite fitness, he should insist on marrying no one but a widow belonging to the same or any other varna.

10. Ultimately, he should firmly resolve that, if he does not get a girl despite observing the nine rules above and even disregarding caste restrictions, he will not forsake his dharma and will not indulge in adultery.

It is improbable that observing the nine conditions he will not get a girl from the twenty-two crores of Hindus. But even if the improbable happens every man must have the courage and strength not to forsake dharma or to fall into sins like adultery. He who does not have this will not be regarded as a man.

While taking the nine types of liberties, calamities like boycott by the community, parents' displeasure, loss of an inheritance, etc.,

are likely to befall one. This article is not meant for one who does not have the grit to bear such hardships.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-6-1929

93. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

June 30, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your letters. I am at the moment sitting in a secluded spot in front of the peaks of the Himalayan ranges covered with snow. I spend all my time in the verandah. Here I finished revising my translation of the *Gita*. It will now be published if my friends so desire. If it is not printed I shall send you a copy or you will see it if you come here in the mean time.

Has the name Sita now stuck to your heart? If not it can be given up. If it is, it would not pain me at all. The right to give a name must belong to you. My wish is that you would ask for suggestions from elders but do what you yourselves decide. It would be a different matter if you were children. I have opened this subject because Nanabhai says the name Sita hurts Sushila. There is no reason to be displeased. Since I do not insist on this why should she be unhappy about it?

Now about the alliance with a Marwari, I do not remember whether I had told Manilal about it, but before I received the offer of Sushila, it was my plan to form alliance with an educated Bengali girl. God may have joined you, because who knows whether with the Bengali girl you could have merged as completely as you two now have. However, it was my intention even before I betrothed Ramdas to go out of Gujarat. It is essential that we do this. Of course, I wished to limit myself to the Vaishya community. The unnatural restrictions that now prevail have done and are still doing much harm. The alliance that I have just concluded I expect to be as successful as yours. Here again the main role has been Jamnalalji's. He has found a groom who is one of his distant relatives. He is modest and educated. He was introduced to Rukhi and the alliance is formed as she and Santok were willing. This too is a way of bringing about India's unity. Now do you understand, can you swallow it?

Sushila should not be impatient to come here. I can quite understand her wish to see her family. But if it is found that she

must stay on for the sake of the work there, it is her duty to stay on. This is my advice. But do only that which both of you think right.

Yes, if the community does not want *Indian Opinion* and it involves a loss it should be closed down, however necessary it may be. But it must be proved that the community does not want it and that the losses are not owing to our slackness or remissness. Our writings should not be immature. Sastriji particularly insists that the journal should never be closed down. Whatever you would do should be done with deliberation, after considering the advice of your friends and having made all the efforts needed to keep going.

I have with me Devdas, Prabhudas, Purushottam, Kusumbehn senior, Jamnabehn, Khurshedbehn and Pyarelal. Ba is of course there. Thus this time I have a large company. And I quite forget Brijkisan.

Now about vaccination. I do not believe in cow-pox. It is a dirty practice. The cow's teats are made to fester till they stink and a vaccine is extracted from it. This is inoculated into our system. This is tantamount to partaking of beef. This question had arisen in the South African jail; it also confronted us in the jails here. But in the end no one let me off. Nor does it always prove beneficial. The opponents of vaccination are growing in number.

But it would be all right if you got yourself vaccinated. What I have stated above are my personal views. Generally people do get themselves vaccinated. Do what you think right after both of you go deep into this matter, study it with interest and form an independent opinion about it.

I hope you read in *Navajivan* and *Young India* about my experiment with uncooked grain.[1] It still continues fairly well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4756

[1] *Vide* pp. 34-6 & 52-4.

94. LETTER TO NANABHAI I. MASHRUWALA

Not revised

KAUSANI,
June 30, 1929

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

Please convey my repeated congratulations to mother and daughter, Vijayalakshmi and Tara, for having suppressed the letter written by you under the pretext of revising it. I had occasion to meet Malavi[ya]ji and I am pleased with the way it turned out. Khadi is decidedly progressing but, I am afraid, it is at a snail's pace.

It appears advisable to let Sushila stay there, if she does not want to come over leaving Manilal behind. We should be content that the two have become united like milk and sugar and live happily. It is not at all desirable that Manilal should rush here deserting his duty. I think it good for the youngsters that we give up our longing to see them when they have gone to other lands. It would be a different matter if they return at their own convenience and when they wish to.

Even before your letter came I had known that Tara went hawking khadi regularly.

I had written to both of them to have any other name of their choice if they did not like the name Sita. The right to name one's children must belong to the parents; elders may offer suggestions, if asked for.

I have also written to them explaining Rukhi's betrothal to a Marwari. I think we ought to take such liberties within limits. I might not have told you that, before I had the offer of Sushila from you, I had almost decided to betroth Manilal to an eligible Bengali girl. For many years I have felt that we ought to come out of Gujarat in this way.

Prabhudas will accompany me to the Ashram. Kakasaheb has asked for him for the Vidyapith. Prabhudas is his favourite pupil.

We reach Delhi on the 5th and the Ashram on the 6th.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7518

95. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

Unrevised

June 30, 1929

BHAISHRI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

Your three letters are before me. I would have no right to be in this lovely, secluded spot surrounded by snow-clad mountains, if I had no special work to do here. The special work was revision of the translation of the *Gita*, which had remained unfinished at Wardha. I could complete it only in seclusion. I just sat down here for the purpose. I have postponed all other work that could be postponed till I could finish this job. That is the reason why I have not replied to you earlier. The work on the *Gita* is now over.

Now regarding Keshu. His father's hope and mine has been that ultimately Keshu would choose the Ashram life and dedicate himself to khadi work. But I do not wish to put any pressure on him. And now he is in your hands. You should take from him such work as he may be willing to do and as may be for his good. You should look upon him as your own son and train him.

You have trained numerous young men and I have been informed and I believe that many enterprises of the Birla family were started by you.

What shall I say about khadi when there is the opportunity of using your talent for the sale of khadi? The khadi stock is all sold out. Still, it is bound to accumulate again. I shall then use your ability. At present we shall let the business run itself. I hope the khadi being "unasked for" does not mean I sent it without permission? As for production, it is true that here I cannot make much use of your assistance. We are making what efforts we can.

What happened about the dairy?

I have not fasted. Since I began to look upon death as my great friend I have given up fasting on account of death. I did not fast on the death of Maganlal and Rasik. Death now has ceased to hurt or, say, it hurts very little.

The experiment with uncooked food is continuing.

The meaning of [faddist][1] can be understood as '*dhuni*' in Gujarati. I am unfamiliar with the word '*sanaki*'[2]. '*Chakram*' of course will not do.

[1] Illegible in the original; *vide* pp. 79-80.

[2] Eccentric

These days I try to write something every week for *Hindi Navajivan*. If you don't happen to read it now, begin to do so and give me any suggestions that you deem fit about the subject-matter and language.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I shall reach Delhi on July 5 and the Ashram on 6th.

From Hindi: C. W. 6174. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

96. LETTER TO KRISHNACHANDRA

KAUSANI (HIMALAYAS),
July 1, 1929

BHAI KRISHNACHANDRA,

I have your letter.

Involuntary discharge is no cause for alarm. Water-treatment, exercise, pure air, simple wholesome diet and reciting Ramanama will stop it.

Discontinue the milk at mealtime if you find it makes your diet heavy.

Spices should be completely avoided. Drink water if thirsty and eat only when hungry. You must walk for at least two hours every day, preferably before mealtime. It is better to avoid eating at night. My book on health would be a useful guide. Give up oil. Take ghee sparingly.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi: G. N. 4260

97. LETTER TO LILAVATI

July 1, 1929

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have your letter. I have shown it to Jamnabehn. She will, moreover, go there in a few days. You should keep in touch with her. And it is a very good thing that you see Perinbehn regularly and help her in her work. As for the Ashram rules, they can be observed wherever one may be. Passions do not arise if one does not sit idle for a single moment, and constantly engages body and mind in good deeds and good thoughts.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G. N. 9315

98. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

July 1, 1929

BHAISHRI VITHALDAS,

Herewith I send you an extract from Krishnadas's letter telling what he has written about you. My purpose in sending this is that you should compose a booklet on the science of selling khadi as Maganlal wrote one about weaving.

I had your letter about a memorial to Maganlal. I have not stopped thinking about it but one after another things kept coming up and therefore I am silent about it. I do not wish to go begging from door to door for this collection.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S. N. 9768

99. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Silence Day [July 1, 1929][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL (JOSHI),

I got your letters. You will probably get this on Thursday. I shall arrive there on Saturday evening. Can there be anything, then, to write about?

Today, too, the snowy Nandadevi and other smaller peaks are shining brilliantly in sunlight in front of me. I wish to invite you all to come and see this. Borrow Vinoba's imagination for a moment and share my joy from there.

Don't think all the time of your being weak. 'I am *atman*; the *atman* can never be weak; I will never be weak.' Resolve thus in your mind. Anyone who constantly thinks of his illness never leaves his sick-bed. Keep yourself ready to go on your leave.

What did you do about Galiara's money which is to be spent in the neighbourhood of Kathor? Include this matter in your notes.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Surendra will have become quite a familiar face before I arrive there. I do not write other letters; it is time for the post.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 121

100. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

July 1, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter after I had dispatched today's post. I do not remember anything about Anjani. I shall be glad if you go there and to other places so that, at least while you are there, you may feel a little lighter. You should certainly go out occasionally.

The sum of Rs. 2,000 received from Galiara may be handed over to Kaka. He has decided to spend the amount for education through the Vidyapith. He was saying something about adding to this the money given by Mahadev and a few other sums. I have forgotten the details.

I did not know that Subbiah owed some money to the Ashram. You should certainly deduct something from his pay against that sum. Write to him immediately and ask him if he agrees.

Whenever there are many letters enclosed in one envelope, you should make it a rule to secure the envelope with a string. The string, moreover, should be tied fast. Instead of using an envelope, it would be easier and cheaper, when there are many letters to be dispatched, to wrap them in a blank sheet of paper or a newspaper sheet and paste a blank slip on the latter. It is not obligatory to put the letters in an envelope. All that is necessary is that, if the packet containing the letters is sealed from all sides, stamps of the value required by the weight of the letters should be pasted on it. I will immediately implement this suggestion which I am making to you.

The idea had occurred to me a long time ago, but I did not carry it out so far.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5424

101. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[After *July 1, 1929*][1]

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I read the current *Congress Bulletin*. I think that the reproduction of that statement was out of place in an official publication which is designed merely to record Congress activities. Is it not like a government gazette? On merits too I understand that it was prepared by their counsel. It is not the outpourings of earnest souls as you and I thought it was.

[1] From the reference to the statement given in court by Bhagat Singh and Dutta in the Assembly Bomb case, which was published in the *Congress Bulletin* dated July 1, 1929

Nor did I like your advocacy and approval of the fast[1] they are undergoing. In my opinion it is an irrelevant performance and in so far as it may be relevant it is like using Nasmyth hammer to crush a fly. However this is for you to ponder over.

I would like you to come to a decision soon regarding the Presidentship. Why this hesitation? I thought at Almora it was agreed that you would wear the crown. On this, read the enclosed and hand it on to Father.

I hope Kamala is well.

Yours,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

102. THE KELLOGG PACT

In *Young India* for March 21st was printed an appeal issued at the recent Conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, in which occurs the following passage:

"The pact for the 'renunciation of war' has been signed by a large number of States. The logical conclusion of this renunciation can only be disarmament. And it is the only way to avoid fresh wars." It is possible that some of the readers of *Young India* are not fully conversant with the genesis of this Pact, the Kellogg Pact. . . . On August 27, 1928, it was signed by fifteen States, and within five or six months practically all the States of the world signified their intention of adhering to it.

It consists of only two very brief and simple articles, by the first of which the signatories, in the names of their respective peoples, renounce war as an instrument of national policy; while by the second they agree never to seek a settlement of any dispute, of whatever nature and whatever origin, save by pacific means. It thus stands as a clear and unqualified renunciation of war. . . .

How does all this affect India? Do not her poverty and her subjection make her powerless? I think not. . . . Let the teachers in the schools and colleges lead the way by seeing that the youths fully understand what this Pact really is. . . . When this knowledge has been assimilated by the educated it will in some form permeate the masses of the uneducated, preparing the way for the stand India will take when she has attained her freedom. . . .

[1] By Bhagat Singh, Dutta and some other prisoners in protest against the treatment meted out to them in jail

I gladly publish L. E.'s contribution[1] and have no difficulty in agreeing that the Kellogg Pact has great possibilities, the patent insincerity of many signatories notwithstanding. I share to the full the apprehension about the Pact felt by the correspondent whose letter to *Young India* L. E. has mentioned. But this insincerity does not trouble me. My difficulty is as to the suggestion made by L. E. about India's part in promoting peace. India's contribution to peace must in the nature of things be different in kind from that of the Western nations. India is not an independent nation. And it may be inferred from her present position that she has not the will to be independent. The parties to the Pact are mostly partners in the exploitation of the peoples of Asia and Africa; India is the most exploited among them all. The Peace Pact therefore in substance means a desire to carry on the joint exploitation peacefully. At least that is how the Pact appears to me to be at present. India has never waged war against any nation. She has put up sometimes ill-organized or half-organized resistance in self-defence pure and simple. She has therefore not got to develop the will for peace. She has that in abundance, whether she knows it or not. The way she can promote peace is to offer successful resistance to her exploitation by peaceful means. That is to say, she has to achieve her independence, for this year to be known as Dominion Status, by peaceful means. If she can do this, it will be the largest contribution that any single nation will have made towards world peace. If my diagnosis is correct, it will be realized that the teaching such as L. E. wants in the schools can only be ineffective and what is worse, hypocritical. Even if the teachers can make themselves believe in what they may be called upon to teach, it will find no echo in the hearts of the boys and girls of their classes, even as a person who has never hurt a fly will fail to understand the meaning of an appeal made to him to will not to spill blood.

Young India, 4-7-1929

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

103. *A PLEA FOR COMMON SENSE*

A young man writes from Kashmir:

> Some days ago I bought a set of portraits of some of the great men of India. Today I find that all these portraits are printed in Germany. I am distressed to see what I have done—bought foreign things that were available in our own country, and the very sight of these portraits which was likely to inspire me with good ideas is injuring my feelings. My friends who are also of the same mind suggest to me to burn them; but this is a thing which my conscience does not allow, as these are the portraits of those great men who have sacrificed their lives for our country. I request you to advise me in the matter. I await your answer through your *Young India*.

Well may this young man want my answer through *Young India*. I am glad the young man's conscience has prevented him from burning the portraits. It was no doubt wrong to have bought these portraits made in Germany. But there is such a thing as common sense in the world. Common sense is realized sense of proportion. The way to redress such trivial mistakes as the young man fell into is to be more careful in the future so as not to repeat them. If the young man and his friends will search within and search also their surroundings, they will discover many more incongruities and foreign articles in and about them. Let them begin the reformation by banishing the worst foreign things and the rest will go without an effort. Here again let these friends make use of common sense and understand that the adjective foreign is to be taken in its widest sense. Anything that harms the inner being is foreign. Do we not often strain at a gnat and swallow a camel?

Young India, 4-7-1929

104. MILL-OWNERS AND BOYCOTT

Although I have before now dealt with this question in these pages, correspondents often inquire why the indigenous mills are not invited to take part in the foreign-cloth boycott movement. Others inquire what part these mills play in the movement. Yet others ask why Congress workers should not directly encourage and advertise indigenous mill-cloth side by side with khadi.

To take the last question first, these correspondents should remember that the Congress resolution contemplates the boycott through khadi. There are sound reasons for this partiality. Mill-cloth alone has had its opportunity for the past fifty years and it has not brought boycott about. Immediate boycott through the existing mills is an impossibility. New mills cannot be started for the asking. Therefore if the boycott is to succeed, it can do so only through khadi. Khadi cannot be pushed side by side with mill-cloth. Given the choice, it must be confessed with regret that the unthinking multitude will prefer the apparently cheaper and easily obtainable calico to the apparently dearer and coarse-looking and not easily obtainable khadi. It follows therefore that Congress workers, as far as their influence can reach—and it does not reach very far yet—must preach khadi to the exclusion of mill-cloth.

This brings me to the second question. But the exclusive preaching of khadi does not mean hostility to the indigenous mill-cloth. Mill-cloth is playing an important part in the movement whether the mill-owners will or no. The multitude buys it in competition with foreign cloth. The mills have their agencies direct and indirect in all the parts of India. As a distinguished mill-owner once very properly remarked to me: "We do not want your help, we penetrate where you will perhaps never even make your voice heard. If you preach our cloth, you simply invite us to raise our prices by creating a demand we cannot cope with." He was silenced when I told him that I contemplated boycott not through mill-cloth but through khadi. He at once agreed that that was quite a feasible proposition if I could produce enough khadi to displace foreign cloth and popularize it. Most mill-owners recognize this as did the one I have quoted. Any advocacy then on the part of Congressmen of mill-cloth can only hinder boycott and ultimately even damage the mills by reason of the certain failure of the movement through the adoption of thoughtless methods. The

reader should realize that repeated failures of the movement must result in deepening despondency and then making the people indifferent in their purchase of cloth. We must avoid failure this time at any cost. We may risk no avoidable mistake through sluggish or imperfect thinking. It is the popular indifference that has given the foreign-cloth dealer his vantage ground. The moment the people are induced to think for themselves and make their choice, the boycott is a certainty. The indigenous mills are therefore playing their part in the movement and profiting by it without assistance from Congressmen.

Now for the first question. There is undoubtedly a way in which the mill-owners can actively, deliberately and effectively help the movement. An attempt was made last by Pandit Malaviyaji and Motilalji and myself to invite their active participation. The attempt failed, perhaps because it was not in the nature of things possible for the mills actively to participate in terms of the Congress in any movement with which the Government do not openly associate themselves or which they are suspected of secretly disapproving. The vast majority of them are under the influence of banking concerns which depend for their existence on Government goodwill. But if there are mills which can defy Government pressure, no matter how subtly exerted, here are the conditions under which they or anyone of them can directly participate in the movement wholly or partially:

1. They can sell khadi through their agencies;
2. they can lend their talents to the movement;
3. they can, by conference with the A.I.S.A. determine the varieties they should manufacture in terms of boycott;
4. they can cease to manufacture khadi whether in that name or any other;
5. they can standardize their prices so as neither to suffer loss nor to increase their profits; and
6. they can render financial assistance to the movement.

Several other ways may easily be deduced from the six chief ones I have mentioned. This assistance can be given only if the mill-owners and the shareholders are patriotically inclined and are prepared to limit their profits. I am sure the majority of shareholders if they were properly canvassed would not object. It is the capitalist who has therefore really to decide. As one of them told me, "We will come in when we must—not before." He may be right.

Lastly the reader should know that all mills because they are built on the Indian soil may not be called indigenous. There are

mills that are indigenous only in name. They are owned and managed by foreigners, their shareholders are foreigners, they exclude Indians from management or shares, the major part of their earnings is drained away from India. The only thing that India gets out of their earnings is the paltry labourers' wages. These mills are no more indigenous than the existing Government. These can never help the movement.

Young India, 4-7-1929

105. DESTROY ALL HIMSA

Raja Mahendra Pratap is a great patriot. For the sake of the country this noble man has chosen exile as his lot. He has given up his splendid property in Vrindavan for educational purposes. Prem Mahavidyalaya now conducted by Acharya Jugalkishore is his creation. The Rajasaheb has often corresponded with me. And I have withheld from publication communications from him. But the latest received from him I have not the heart to withhold. Here therefore is his letter.

> As a friend of humanity and your fellow-countryman by birth, I demand of you kindly to publish the following thoughts in your worthy paper.
>
> WHAT IS AHIMSA?
>
> I assert that I am a true follower of ahimsa. But it needs an explanation of this word to clear my position. It becomes still more necessary when I add and affirm that many who call themselves the worshippers of this holy word have no sense of its spirit.
>
> Ahimsa, as I understand it, is not to give pain to anybody in mind or body by one's thought, talk or action. However, to be a follower of this principle does not stop here. A follower of ahimsa has to change all those conditions under which *himsa* is practised or becomes possible. I call it worst kind of *himsa*, opposite of ahimsa, when a man tolerates or aids *himsa* of others.
>
> Many people in India today deliver some very fine sermons on the beauties of ahimsa; however they do little to destroy the *himsa* of the British. I say all such persons are abettors and aids to all that crime which the British commit in India against the weak, the hungry and the helpless.
>
> Of course, no one can deny that our great leader Gandhiji has a very sincere desire to serve the Indian nation. However, I am afraid that

his methods alone, unsupported by some more energetic active programme, cannot bring relief to the people.

I highly appreciate and strongly endorse the khadi movement of Gandhiji. It may or may not appreciably better the economic condition of the masses, because there are today so many modern factors at work in our society; but in any case the idea from the psychological standpoint is certainly admirable. It directs the human thought to a simple life and awakens in the people a certain sense of unity.

I must, however, add that we need much more. We have to destroy in the true spirit of ahimsa all that British organization which is *himsa* personified.

Let the nation as a whole strive to that end. At the earliest possible moment let us put an end to the British brutality in India, in fact, in the whole world. Let everyone perform his duty according to his natural endowments. In the true spirit of ahimsa, I cannot force my will on others. Let everyone find out for himself what one must do. I can only point out the eternal truth that the Creator certainly wants the good of all his creatures—of all the men and women—in our common human race. If any man or group acts selfishly and oppresses others he surely misuses his gifts and acts against the wishes of the Creator. I can only say: Let everyone try his or her best to destroy all *himsa.* This is ahimsa.

Young India, 4-7-1929

106. FOR SELF-SPINNERS

A.I.S.A. members and all those who send self-spun yarn as subscriptions or donations should be most careful about preparing and packing their yarn. Every yard of yarn spun means so much added to the wealth of the country. Let us not despise it. I have known quotations in South Africa of rice and other staples as low as 1/32nd of a penny. The keen-witted European merchants knew what these tiny fractions meant when they underwent endless multiplication as they did in transactions involving thousands of bags of rice. If we had the same wit, we would realize the value of a yard of self-spun yarn when it undergoes multiplication by the three hundred million hands that may draw yards of yarn from day to day. Let it be then further remembered that the value of each yard of yarn increases in the same ratio as the increase in its fineness, evenness and strength. And since hanks of yarn in separateness would fetch only a fraction of a copper coin, all cost of transit should be saved as much as possible. Those agencies therefore that organize and collect yarn subscriptions and donations should

see to the proper labelling and classification of yarn and send such parcels to the head office at fixed periodical intervals. Little is it realized even by the best workers that the message of the wheel means a complete revolution in the national life. Its successful delivery means a solidly-knit, well-organized, well-disciplined, self-restrained, self-contained, self-respecting, industrious, prosperous nation, no member of which willing and ready to work ever need starve.

Young India, 4-7-1929

107. AN UNFORTUNATE DAUGHTER

I have countless daughters in the country—those I know and those that I do not know. One of them has written to me from Pushkar, signing herself as "your unfortunate daughter". Here is the entire letter[1]:

In India there are many Hindu girls who suffer the same fate as this Lakshmi Devi. As soon as a girl grows up a little and begins to take interest in studies and games, selfish and bigoted parents push her into the sea of matrimony. The marriage that was forced on Lakshmi Devi cannot be considered a religious marriage. In a religious marriage the girl should be told to whom she is getting married, her consent should be obtained for the marriage and if possible she should be given an opportunity to see the prospective bridegroom. Nothing of the kind was done in Lakshmi Devi's case. Secondly she was too young for wedlock. Therefore she has a perfect right to refuse to countenance such a marriage, to refuse to recognize it as marriage. The only heartening feature of this tragedy is that her mother is with her. I congratulate the lady. I would request Lakshmi Devi's father not to regard *adharma* as dharma and stand in her way. I hope Lakshmi Devi will remain steadfast in her resolution in the same brave and modest spirit that she has shown in writing this letter for publication, and will marry the young man who wishes to be bound to her in holy wedlock. I also hope that she will remain steadfast in her resolve to serve the country. Those girls who wish to do away with evil customs and follow a new path, who wish to become my daughters should never give up humility, discretion, truth and self-restraint.

[1] Not translated here. The correspondent had said that she had been married off by her parents when still a child to a man who had another wife living, and that in her husband's house she was subjected to much cruelty. She had expressed her desire to remarry.

Licence and immodest behaviour would bring them unhappiness and I should be ashamed of them. They would never be able to show a way to others. Such girls should have the dignity, modesty and purity of Sita and the courage and strength of Draupadi.

These good daughters must remember that to establish swaraj—*Ramarajya*—in India they have to work shoulder to shoulder with men and it is their special duty to improve the condition of women.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 4-7-1929

108. FOREIGN SUGAR v. *KHADI*[1]

A correspondent from the Meerut District writes:

> Our family consists of about 30 or 32 members. For several generations we have been following the vocation of sugar refiners. We take crude molasses from the sugar planters and prepare white sugar from it by the indigenous process without the employment of any machinery. But for the last several years we have been hard hit by the competition of foreign and machine-made sugar and the profits of our business do not suffice even to cover the ordinary wages of our labour. The importation of foreign sugar further means a heavy drain of wealth from our country and yet you never open your lips on the subject which is rather surprising. But that side of the question apart, we feel really at sea as to what we should do. Our womenfolk still follow their traditional occupation of cotton spinning and get the yarn thus spun woven by the village weaver into khadi. . . .

I am sorry to have to advise these friends to give up their present occupation if sugar refining is truly an unprofitable concern. For today, I really do not know how we can completely prevent the importation of foreign sugar into our country. I consi-

[1] Originally published in *Hindi Navajivan*, 4-7-1929, this and "The Running Sore", 18-7-1929, appeared under the title "Notes from *Hindi Navajivan*" with the following introductory note by Pyarelal: " . . . Gandhiji has of late commenced regularly to write original articles for *Hindi Navajivan*. Apart from the fact that this special writing enables him to discharge his obligation towards a weekly of which he has been nominally editor all these years, he has found that it gives him an opportunity of coming into direct touch with the Hindi reading public and their peculiar problems which he could not do so well before. As a specimen I give below a translation of two articles selected almost at random that have recently appeared in *Hindi Navajivan*."

der sugar to be an unnecessary, even harmful article of consumption. 'White poison' as it has been called by dietetic experts, it is a fruitful source of many a disease. But we have become so hopelessly addicted to its use that it is not quite an easy thing to get rid of it. We cannot today produce all the sugar that we consume. Again, country sugar is dearer and not being so white as the imported sugar is less popular. It is not an industry for which a country-wide and mass agitation can be set up as in the case of khadi. Nor can such an agitation alone, even if successful, help to convert a losing into a paying concern. I can therefore repeat what I have already said that if the sugar manufacture is no longer a profitable trade there is no help but to leave it.

But what to do next is the question that will naturally be asked. In my opinion weaving is any day preferable as an avocation to sugar manufacture. Unlike spinning, weaving provides a whole-time occupation and what is more it is a growing universal occupation with practically an unlimited scope before it.

As for the question of introducing khadi in his family to which the correspondent refers, it does not require much effort to spin fine yarn at home. If only each member of the household in question will but make up his or her mind diligently to spend one hour daily on the spinning-wheel, he or she can turn out the count that will suit his or her requirement and all the clothing needed in the family including fine saris, etc., can be had just for the charge of weaving yarn into cloth, while if like spinning weaving is introduced in the household, as it well may be, it will constitute another big advance and simplify matters still further.

Young India, 8-8-1929

109. LETTER TO R. B. GREGG

July 4, 1929

MY DEAR GOVIND,

I have not been as regular in writing to you as you have been. *Young India* gives the reason. You are never absent from my thoughts.

I knew of your marriage long before your letter. Andrews wrote a line about it. You give me a beautiful description about it all. I wish you and yours a long and happy life of service. It would be a joy to welcome you, Mrs. Gregg at the Ashram. Of course she must see all your Indian associates and Indian haunts.

I did get that book on food. It did not create much impression on me. You must have seen in *Young India* all about my latest experiment.[1] It still continues. But I am unable to report any decisive result yet.

We have just descended from the Almora hills. I combined business with recreation in the coolness of the Himalayan hills. We had a glorious view of the snowy range. It was a dazzling snow-capped amphitheatre in front of us whenever the sky was clear.

I hope you are keeping perfect health now.

With love to you both,

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 4664

110. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

[Before *July 5, 1929*][2]

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. Certainly let me have your observations on Gujarat and Tamilnad and add your observations on the conduct of the Ashram. You have now lived there sufficiently long to form an opinion.

Yes, you may develop the wool industry in Sind if cotton is impossible. If Sind really wants to boycott foreign cloth, it would do sacrificial or self-spinning. Every province should realize that boycott of foreign cloth is impossible without khadi. We must therefore learn to spin enough for our own requirements. The *takli* is the easiest thing in this direction.

Yours,
BAPU

[PS.]

I reach Sabarmati on 6th instant.

From a photostat: G.N. 892

[1] *Vide* pp. 34-6.

[2] The original bears the entry, "5-7-1929", presumably written by the addressee on receipt of this letter.

111. THE OLD STORY[1]

Elsewhere will be found a digest prepared by Mahadev Desai of reports of alleged oppression in the Dholka and Dashkroi taluks in connection with the recovery of *taqavi* advances. In sending the digest Sjt. Desai observes that he had hoped that the Government would have learnt wisdom from the Bardoli experience but that he had been sadly disillusioned. In my opinion both the hope and the disappointment were wholly unwarranted. The Government did not change its policy in the case of Bardoli, it was only compelled to yield under the pressure of organized resistance of the Bardoli peasantry and it is bound to do so again wherever such resistance is well organized. Even so the peasantry of Dholka and Dashkroi taluks will find that no power on earth will dare to molest them once they have fully learnt the lesson of self-respect.

The moral, however, which I want to draw from these happenings is that where the people have not shed their cowardice they will continue to be oppressed, if not by a foreign Government, by their own kith and kin, a hundred Bardolis notwithstanding. The first and foremost duty of national workers should therefore be to inculcate the lesson of fearlessness among the people. We cannot have a Vallabhbhai to lead everywhere. But every worker can in his own humble way try to emulate his qualities. All may not have Vallabhbhai's sagacity, his matchless courage and generalship but everyone can, and ought to be able to, develop a bit of his alertness and sleepless vigilance.

The Government, evidently, is determined to go on exacting more and more revenue so long as the people continue meekly to submit to its demands. All that it cares for is the golden egg, no matter whether the goose that lays it lives or dies. And how else can it carry on its present top-heavy system of administration? "The people must be made to pay at any cost"—that is the unwritten law and policy, which consequently it has perforce to follow. To compel it to scrap this policy is half the battle of swaraj. Land revenue today forms the very basis of British rule in India. It is a wrong basis from the people's point of view. It has been proved times without number that the Indian people are already taxed

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 7-7-1929. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

far beyond their capacity. But the income of the Government falls short of its daily-growing requirements and so its best brains are kept busy devising fresh ways and means of increasing taxation. Unless, therefore, the present system of administration is completely changed, i.e., the expenditure considerably reduced, the oppression of the people will continue unabated even when the reins of Government have passed into Indian hands. That is why I am never tired of repeating from the housetop that swaraj must mean a complete transformation of the present system of administration and not a mere change of hands. But that will be possible only when the people have mastered the art of resisting unjust taxes. The first step in this direction would be to make a thorough study of the present system of taxation and to demonstrate its utterly unjust character. Then when it becomes imperatively necessary, comes the undoubted right of the people to refuse to pay unjust taxes, undeterred by fines, prosecutions and worse.

But who is to teach this art to the people? It is a task essentially for our national workers who must go and settle in the villages in their midst, win their confidence by dint of selfless service, identify themselves with them in their joys and sorrows, make a close study of their social conditions and by degrees to infect them with their courage and determination to do or die. But for silent, patient, constructive work of this kind by a band of workers who buried themselves in the villages of Bardoli, even the matchless leadership of Vallabhbhai might have proved of no avail. No general, however capable he may be, can fight a battle single-handed. He can fight only with the help of his weapons and the only true weapons of a general are not rifles and guns but loyal, disciplined soldiers, who would be content to work silently and unostentatiously and carry out his orders without demur even at the cost of their lives. The instances of oppression recounted by Mahadev Desai are by no means isolated phenomena. More probably than not they have their replicas in other parts of the country also, only we do not know them. It is a well-established principle of medical science that all the diseases that the human system is heir to have a common origin and therefore a common cure. Even so beneath the surface variety of ills which our body politic displays today, there is a fundamental unity of cause. It is that we must trace out and tackle.

Young India, 25-7-1929

112. ON INCREASING THE SIZE OF "NAVAJIVAN"

I have received many comments on the opinion of a lover of *Navajivan* which I had published[1] regarding the inclusion of news items in it. Amongst these "a lover of *Navajivan*", who happens to be a city-dweller, writes as follows:[2]

A viewpoint which is diametrically opposite to the one quoted above is expressed by a villager who happens to be a lover of *Navajivan*:[3]

I feel that both these viewpoints are justified as they have been expressed from different standpoints. One way of solving this problem is for me to go through the list of subscribers to *Navajivan* and find out whether the majority of them live in cities or in villages. However, before arriving at any conclusion in that manner, it is necessary to get the opinion of still more readers. Hence I hope that those who take interest in this controversy will send their opinions to me.

Perhaps even if the majority of readers happen to be villagers and desire the inclusion of news items, I would still have to investigate further how far it would be possible for me to do so. It is necessary to mention this here lest the reader conclude that a supplement will definitely be published in order to give news items. An attempt is continuously being made to see to it that *Navajivan* is useful to the maximum number of readers. However, the question how far it can be turned into a newspaper in addition to being the vehicle of my ideas and a means of pointing out the way to the attainment of swaraj is not a minor one. It is my primary duty to ensure that the main purpose behind it is not jeopardized in any way. The original limits set by me are dear to me. And I do not regard the attempt to keep within these as vain, whereas I doubt as to the advisability of including news items in it. However, I look to lovers of *Navajivan* for some light in this matter. The request for publishing news items comes

[1] *Vide* pp. 76-7.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested that the journal might continue to be published as hitherto. In regard to its size and the choice of subjects dealt with in it, he desired that special attention should be paid to satyagraha, non-violence and swaraj or *dharmarajya*.

[3] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had supported the inclusion of news items and an increase in the number of pages which would add to its popularity and increase the circulation in villages.

from a thoughtful individual. I cannot ignore it. He also desires that other readers should send in their considered opinions.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 7-7-1929

113. INSTANTANEOUS EFFECT

As a result of the letter of Thakkar Bapa that I had published regarding the sad plight of untouchables in Bulsar,[1] the enthusiastic youth of that town immediately took the task in hand and made the Municipality aware of the problem. During my tour, I received letters about this from the taluk committee, the National Seva Mandal and such other organizations. I give below extracts[2] from the report which I have received of the resolution that has been passed by the Municipality as a result of this movement.

I congratulate the Municipality and those workers who have tried hard and resolved to provide facilities for our Bhangi brothers in this manner and for starting a school for Bhangi children. I hope that this enthusiasm will not subside. Let them not rest in peace until they enter the hearts of the Bhangi brothers and free them from their addiction to drink.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 7-7-1929

114. AMONG THE SKELETONS OF ORISSA

Readers of *Navajivan* are not unfamiliar with the philanthropy of Shri Jivram Kalyanji Kothari. He has not been content merely with giving away his wealth. He has devoted even his body and soul to the cause of khadi. Day and night he thinks of nothing but this cause. Not being satisfied even with this, he decided to use his own physical energy also in that cause and having done so found out the poorest and, from the standpoint of khadi, the most difficult province to work in. The idea took hold of him that the wealth that he had gained through labourers should

[1] *Vide* pp. 31-2.

[2] These are not translated here. The Bulsar Municipality passed the resolutions sanctioning sums of Rs. 500 each for digging wells for the 'untouchables' and for building sheds for them with full amenities.

now be returned to them and finally it bore fruit in Orissa. For the past year or so he has been working in Orissa, accompanied by his wife. And now Purbai, the widow worker of Karachi has also gone there. With them is a gentleman, Maganbhai by name and another person known as Ghanshyam Shahu. On my requesting them to do so, they gave me in Calcutta a detailed account of their work in their broken yet sweet language. After having carefully scrutinized it and put it in the form of an article, I had sent it over during my tour of Andhra. However, that important article was lost in the post and has not yet been traced. Recently I received another letter from Shri Jivram which contains an account of the work being done there at present. I publish it below, as it will give some idea about it to the reader:[1]

I have made few changes in the language of this letter. I have often found that such letters become less interesting if their language is altered. I realize that the minor changes that I have made in the genders, etc., have indeed made the letter less interesting. In revealing the true nature of Shri Jivram, the 'improvements' made in his letter have had the very opposite effect and made it more obscure. However, this is a matter which all readers will not ordinarily understand and I have attempted to improve the language for fear that they may get tired of reading a language that falters too much. False adornments and superficial make-up have taken such hold of us that we fail to recognize that which is genuine unless it is cast in the conventional mould. Instead of unbleached but durable and easily recognizable khadi, people prefer starched, bleached khadi, although the latter may be more expensive and they forget that repeated washing has made the latter variety less durable and also that it is difficult to make out whether it is genuine or not. The same is true of such letters. However, I shall not dilate on this theme.

The changes made in Shri Jivram's letter will not affect the evaluation of his work.

It is my request to Shri Jivram and those like him who are doing difficult work in a difficult region that they should never lose hope. It is our dharma to do our work, the outcome is in the hands of God. When we have no doubts regarding the worthiness of the activity and the means employed, we should die doing it but never give it up. All great tasks in the world have been achieved in this manner. At the place where Shri Jivram

[1] The letter is not translated here. It had described how the spinning-wheel had banished fear and idleness among the womenfolk in Orissa.

lives, the only inducement is inner joy. The climate is inclement, milk and ghee are hardly or not at all available, the language is different, the people are lazy, not deliberately but due to the prevailing circumstances and the atmosphere is not at all congenial to the spinning-wheel. Only those whose hearts are overflowing with love and who have full faith in their duty can enjoy living in such conditions—under such risks.

Shri Jivram has been taking such risks. He should now gradually introduce the science of the spinning-wheel in his sphere of work, make spinning-wheels locally, find out how counts of yarn are calculated, learn to recognize the different varieties of cotton, understand the subtler aspects of the carding of cotton. Where there is a will, there's a way.

The example of Shri Jivram deserves to be followed by many young men and especially by those belonging to the richer classes. This latter should not rest content with contributing money, but should also put in physical labour and devote their hearts to the cause. If they are as diligent in their work as they are in their business, the cause of khadi will progress at a much greater speed. All those who have had the experience have found that the spinning-wheel is the only principal means of bringing about an awakening among crores of destitute persons, of serving them and of making them happy.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 7-7-1929

115. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

July 8, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

What a tragedy? You plunged into the milkless experiment too soon. It is evident that Gopalrao's optimism and deductions are superficial. I am myself flourishing. I have put on 1½ lbs. on a totally fruitarian diet, no wheat, no nuts, no pulses. I omitted cereals and nuts because of slight fever contracted in Almora. I was none the worse for it but better. But I can do these things I suppose because of my previous training. Mirabehn is taking germinating wheat, gram and some fruit and raw vegetable and flourishing because she has kept milk and ghee. You could perhaps do likewise. There is nothing wrong in the raw cereals if milk and ghee be not omitted. Most of the literature points in that direc-

tion. The milkless experiment cannot yet be claimed as a success. You must therefore adhere to milk and ghee for the time being. Please do not hurry over the thing.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1606

116. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Silence Day [July 8, 1929][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

We reached the Ashram comfortably on Saturday night. I have gained two pounds. [My experiment of taking] uncooked grain still continues. Is your cough cured? Jayaprakash is not returning soon; I have therefore written to Rajendrababu that if you are sent back here I could have your *Gita* and English further improved. If Father permits, come soon provided you wish to. I shall certainly like it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3347

117. ALMORA IMPRESSIONS

HOSPITALITY

When one meets with nothing but deep affection and great attention everywhere it is difficult to give their respective measures. I thought that Andhra Desha could not be equalled in this respect. The experience of Almora following closely on the heels of Andhra compels a revision of the opinion. For Almora did no less. No pains were spared by the Almora friends to make my all too short a stay in the beautiful Himalayan hills most comfortable. In one respect they improved upon Andhra. They would not make the reception expenses a charge upon the various purses collected. All the heavy motor expenses were borne by a few private friends. The Committee would not listen to the expenses being paid of those who were travelling with me but were not of the

[1] From the reference to the experiment of uncooked grain and Gandhiji's return to the Ashram

staff and who were able to pay them. "If they intended to pay, let them give what they chose to the khadi purse," was the final reply. Enough however of the necessary acknowledgment of this generous hospitality. In these hills, Nature's hospitality eclipses all that man can ever do. The enchanting beauty of the Himalayas, their bracing climate and the soothing green that envelops you leave nothing more to be desired. I wonder whether the scenery of these hills and the climate are to be surpassed, if equalled, by any of the beauty spots of the world. After having been for nearly three weeks in the Almora hills, I am more than ever amazed why our people need to go to Europe in search of health.

Who Is Untouchable?

Untouchability is a snake with a thousand mouths through each of which it shows its poisonous fangs. It defies definition. It needs no sanction from Manu or the other ancient law-givers. It has its own local *smriti*. Thus in Almora a whole class of people, whose occupation is, even according to the Sanatana Dharma so called, innocent, are untouchables. They are all cultivators owning their own holdings. They are called *shilpi*, i.e., farmers. Another similar class of people called Boras suffer in the same manner although they do not even eat carrion or take liquor and observe all the rules of sanitation as well as any. Tradition has condemned these as untouchables. Hinduism that refuses to think accepts the tradition unquestioningly and exposes itself to merited ridicule and worse. Reformers are trying to cope with the evil. I feel, however, that much more drastic methods are needed than are employed to rid Hinduism of the blot. We are needlessly afraid to wound the susceptibilities of orthodoxy. We have to shed the fear, if we expect to end the evil in our own generation. This untouchability naturally recoils on the heads of those who are responsible for it. In Almora the *choka*—untouchability at the time of dining—has worked its insidious way even among castes and sub-castes till at last every man makes himself an untouchable. This *choka* exercises its evil sway even in national institutions like the Prem Vidyalaya. I was considerably relieved when upon inquiry I found that none of the trustees believed in the *choka*, and that they were tolerating it so as not to scare the parents of the boys attending the institution.

Nayaks

Just as there is in the South a caste which dedicates to a life of shame girls euphemistically called *Devadasis*, so is there in Almora a caste called Nayak that similarly brings up its girls without any

euphemism. Nevertheless it too defends the practice on religious grounds and thus drags with the girls religion too in the mire. If God was a capricious person instead of being the changeless and unchangeable living Law, He would in sheer indignation wipe out all those who in the name of religion deny Him and His law. The Servants of India Society is trying to wean the Nayak parents from the sin of degrading their daughters. The progress made is slow, because the public conscience is asleep and man's lust provides material reward for the indecency.

Young India, 11-7-1929

118. FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT

This Committee is pursuing its course in a very systematic way. It has followed the President's letter to the M.L.A.s and M.L.C.s by supplying them with boycott and khadi literature to enable them to do their work. A letter to the editors of newspapers, among other things, reminds them of their obvious duty to eschew foreign cloth and liquor advertisements. It would be interesting to know if the appeal has met with much, if any, response. Let the reader remember that the first Sunday in every month is to be specially devoted to boycott work. The next day of such observance is 4th August. A general letter to Congress Committees lays down the following ten points:

1. Organizing propaganda parties for touring outside large towns;
2. arranging house-to-house visits for converting people to the boycott of foreign cloth;
3. holding of public meetings where house-to-house propaganda is not feasible;
4. hawking of khadi as often during each week as possible;
5. collecting sufficient funds to run small khadi sale depots wherever necessary;
6. organizing street propaganda and *nagar kirtan* parties on every Wednesday and Sunday in the week;
7. engaging in special boycott activity on the first Sunday of each month, that is, 4th August and 1st September;
8. arranging requisitions for special meetings of local bodies which have not so far considered the suggestions made by the F. C. B. Committee for securing their co-operation in the boycott campaign;
9. posting weekly report of F. C. B. work on each Monday; and
10. observing 2nd October, 1929 as the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Day.

The Publicity Department of the F. C. B. Committee gives the following interesting and encouraging report[1] of the work being done in Vile Parle, Champaran and elsewhere[2].

It is to be hoped that other places will copy these organizations. But the workers should bear in mind that the secret of the success of boycott through khadi lies in the recognition of the fact that we have to be manufacturers as we are consumers. It is the capacity for automatic production and distribution that makes khadi invincible the moment we recognize the fact. If therefore where hawking of khadi is undertaken without at the same time the same agencies working for production, soon there will be no khadi to hawk. And for the sale of khadi just as the workers set the example by wearing it, so may they set the example in production by spinning themselves. The easiest way of doing this is to take up the *takli*. That little instrument has unrealized possibilities which anyone who takes it up may verify for himself or herself.

Young India, 11-7-1929

119. SELF-SUPPORTING EDUCATION

The Almora District Board address, which narrated the story of how it educated the children under its charge, and its very laudable attempt to instruct the boys in wool-spinning and weaving, prompted me to repeat with greater emphasis than hitherto the opinion expressed before by me that education should be self-supporting. The opinion has gathered force during my wanderings. If the State has to bear the cost of education of millions of children it will never be able to raise enough money by any conceivable measure of taxation. That it is the primary duty of the State to bring to its schools every boy and girl and give them proper, not perfunctory (as now), education is an axiomatic truth. But in a country like India such education must largely if not wholly pay itself. And if we could but shed the hypnotic spell which our English tutors have cast over us, we should not find any difficulty in discovering ways and means of achieving the end. With the best motives in the world, the English tutors could not wholly understand the difference between English and Indian requirements. Our climate does not require the buildings which they

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] This covered Karnatak and Kathiawar.

need. Nor do our children brought up in predominantly rural environment need the type of education the English children brought up in surroundings predominantly urban need.

When our children are admitted to schools, they need, not slate and pencil and books, but simple village tools which they can handle freely and remuneratively. This means a revolution in educational methods. But nothing short of a revolution can put education within reach of every child of school-going age.

It is admitted that the so-called knowledge of the three R's that is at present given in Government schools is of little use to the boys and girls in after life. Most of it is forgotten inside of one year, if only for want of use. It is not required in their village surroundings.

But if a vocational training in keeping with their surroundings was given to the children, they would not only repay the expenses incurred in the schools but would turn that training to use in after life. I can imagine a school entirely self-supporting, if it became say a spinning and weaving institution with perhaps a cotton field attached to it.

The scheme I am adumbrating does not exclude literary training. No course of primary instruction would be considered complete that did not include reading, writing and arithmetic. Only, reading and writing would come during the last year when really the boy or girl is the readiest for learning the alphabet correctly. Handwriting is an art. Every letter must be correctly drawn, as an artist would draw his figures. This can only be done if the boys and girls are first taught elementary drawing. Thus side by side with vocational training which would occupy most of the day at school, they would be receiving vocal instruction in elementary history, geography and arithmetic. They would learn manners, have object-lessons in practical sanitation and hygiene, all of which they would take to their homes in which they would become silent revolutionists.

The District Board of Almora and any other such Board which is unhampered by restrictions and which has a clear nationalist majority may try the experiment if it has faith and some members who will make it their business to see it through. Above all it is a question national educational institutions must tackle if they would justify their existence. They have to conduct original researches, not reproduce clumsy imitations of those which they condemn and seek to replace.

No originality is claimed for the method advocated here. Booker T. Washington tried it with considerable success. If I re-

collect rightly, even the higher education he gave was self-supporting. In America it is the most usual thing for even college boys to pay fully for their education by engaging in some kind of remunerative work. The plan is different but the idea underlying is not.

Young India, 11-7-1929

120. SYLHET INUNDATED

It was in Kausani that I received the first information[1] from the Chairman of the local Congress Committee of the devastating floods that have overtaken the Sylhet valley. Even the usual rainfall is terrible in these parts of India, but the papers before me tell me that a flood such as was recently experienced there has not been known within living memory. The area affected is said to be 5,500 square miles and the population over 18 lakhs. I need not reproduce the terrible story of destruction which has been vividly described in the daily Press. I have had telegrams and letters from at least four committees asking for relief. These include one from Sjt. Subhas Bose informing me of the formation of the Central Relief Committee with Dr. P. C. Ray as its President. Sjt. Amritlal Thakkar has proceeded there to see with his own eyes the damage done to life and property.

Since Gujarat has had experience of such a flood only recently, it can understand Assam's tribulation. A man who is kind, has national feeling and patriotism, can never ask: 'How can one give every day if every day there are floods and famines? Who can afford to do so? Even the treasures of Kuber would be emptied if donations have to be given like this.' As long as we have the right to eat, the man who is starving has the right to ask for his share of food. If this is recognized as an established truth, then, anyone who has more than his daily needs cannot at all refuse to give if someone approaches him for donations for people affected by floods, etc.[2]

I ask those who have not already given, to send their subscriptions which will be used in a manner that would give the greatest relief with the means that the donors may put at my disposal. Relief in the case of unprecedented destructions such as this only

[1] For this and Gāndhiji's reply, *vide* p. 73.

[2] This paragraph is from the article, "Heavy Floods in Assam", published in *Navajivan*, 14-7-1929.

comes in well after the first shock is over. First aid in such cases is rendered by Nature herself in that utter destruction is its own remedy. Man brings the healing balm through his fellow-feeling to those who remain behind to tell the tale of woe. The donations that the readers may send will be used after the most careful inquiry I may be capable of making.

Young India, 11-7-1929

121. PROHIBITION

Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari who has been entrusted with the prohibition propaganda by the Working Committee has issued the first number of the monthly *Prohibition*, the official organ of the Prohibition League of India. Its price is 2 annas, postage extra, and can be had at Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengodu. The contents are interesting. They show how the Government thwart prohibition by every means at their disposal. Damoh is a district of the Central Provinces. It carried prohibition in the teeth of opposition. I must ask the curious to read the history of the campaign in the pages of the journal. I cannot however resist quoting the following tragic story of damages claimed by a liquor vendor:

> Perumal Naidu, Village Munsiff of Singarapet, Dt. Salem, Madras, was tried departmentally by the Divisional Revenue Officer . . . and he was suspended for one year. . . .
>
> Not content with the infliction of this departmental punishment the local toddy shop renter filed a suit for damages for Rs. 300 on the ground that by reason of the defendant's dissuasion, he lost all custom for full three months, January to March 1926, and that the defendant was bound to make good the loss. . . . The suit is pending.

Is it any wonder if I call a system Satanic under which such things are possible? I need not be told that there may be other systems more Satanic than this. It would be time enough to consider such a retort if I had to make a choice between Satanic systems. The pity of it is that many educated Indians who lead public opinion are drawn into this Satanic net as witness what Mahadev Desai said[1] about the recent dinner to the Viceroy at the Chelmsford Club. All but one or two Indians drank champagne to their fill! When Satan comes disguised as a champion of liberty, civilization, culture and the like, he makes himself

[1] Under the caption, "A Simla Letter" in *Young India*, 11-7-1929

almost irresistible. It is therefore a good thing that prohibition is an integral part of the Congress programme.

Young India, 11-7-1929

122. THE PUNDIT SABHA OF KASHI

When I was in Kashi, three questions were sent to me on behalf of the Kashi Pundit Sabha. I considered it my duty to answer these questions, but I did not then have time to do so. Later the questions lay in my file. I could not attend to them during my tour either. Now I am cleaning up my file. The questions are:

1. How can a sanatani Hindu who is well versed in the doctrines of sanatana dharma and accepts the Vedas and the *smritis* based on them as an infallible authority contend that there is no untouchability in Hinduism or lend his support to freely mixing with untouchables, excepting on the occasions enumerated in the well-known verse: "In religious processions, marriages, emergencies, rebellions and in all festivals contact with untouchables does not pollute"?

2. Your work is among the people of India who are predominantly sanatana dharmis and who implicitly believe in the *Gita* dictum: "Let the Shastras, therefore, be thy authority in deciding what is to be done and what is to be shunned." How can you then effectively carry on the work of eradicating untouchability till you have proved that this work is in conformity with the Shastras?

3. The Muslim Ulemas are firmly convinced that there is merit in killing all those who follow any religion other than Islam for they are Kaffirs, and that Muslims can mingle with them only when they accept Islam. So long as all Muslims are under the influence of these Ulemas, how can Hindus make friends with Muslims while protecting the Hindu dharma?

The pundits should not expect a very learned answer from me. I shall humbly try to answer the questions as best I can on the basis of dharma and Shastras as I have understood them from my own experience.

The *shrutis* and *smritis* do not become scriptures merely because they are known by these respectable names. Whatever goes against the eternal principles of truth, etc., cannot be religious. *Manusmriti* and similar treatises put before us seem to be different today from what they were in their original form, as they contain some contradictory statements. In them are found statements that go against morality and reason. Having regard to the

spirit of the *shruti granthas*, untouchability would indeed seem to be a sin. What I have said about untouchability is this: "There is no sanction in the Shastras for untouchability as we know it today." In this statement and the one the pundits have put into my mouth there is a vast difference. Even if we accept the current *smritis* as our authority we do not find in them any basis for untouchability as it is practised today. Even if we accept what the pundits have quoted as authority, three-fourths of our work is done. "Religious processions, marriages, emergencies, rebellions and festivals" are with us even today. Why do the pundits publicly support untouchability when the *smritis* say that when any of the circumstances obtain untouchability should not be observed?

There is no need for me to answer the second question any further. I have made it clear that for my purpose the statement of the pundits is enough. Let us now consider what may be called a Shastra. I have said above that if we treated every work written in Sanskrit as a Shastra then virtue could be proved to be sin and sin, virtue. Thus in the language of the *Gita*, Shastra can only mean, if the meaning is to be acceptable to reason, the utterances of a *sthitaprajna*[1]. Therefore if the pundits wish to lead the people on the right path, along with learning they should also have a steadfast intellect, and they should give up passion and ill will. Till the pundits strive hard, do *tapas* and become the *brahmabhutas*[2] of the *Gita* an ordinary person like me will have no other alternative than to serve the people in the light of his experience.

That leaves the third question. In my humble opinion the pundits have only betrayed their ignorance in asking such a question. It is neither a teaching of Islam to kill the people who belong to other religions nor do the Ulemas have any such desire. All the Muslims are not under their control either. Nothing except the purity of the Hindus can save Hinduism. It is only oneself that can save oneself. According to the saying "if you are good the world will be good" it is our duty to live in amity with all. At any rate my experience teaches me only this.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 11-7-1929

[1] Man of steadfast intellect

[2] Those who have become one with Brahman; *vide Bhagavad Gita*, II. 55-72.

123. WIDOWS AND WIDOWER

Ever since I expressed my views about widow-remarriage[1] I have been receiving lots of questions. Many which I feel do not need answering, I forget. But the following questions deserve consideration:

1. Up to what age should widows be permitted to remarry?
2. If, after widow-remarriage has been socially approved, a widow past the specified age should desire to remarry and insists on doing so, how can she be stopped?
3. After widow-remarriage has been socially approved, should widows with children, or those who are no longer young be allowed to remarry if they want to?
4. An article written by Shri Ramanand Chatterjee, Editor, *Modern Review*, has appeared in *Widow's Cause*, an English paper published from Lahore. The article suggests that widows should be allowed to remarry up to the age of thirty-five. Is this right?
5. Once the custom of widow-remarriage becomes established, widows will wish to remarry and even those widows who had not so far considered remarriage out of respect for custom will start doing so.

There is no need to answer these questions separately for they are all prompted by a misunderstanding of my views. The rights or latitude allowed to widowers should also be allowed to widows. Otherwise widows become victims of coercion and coercion is violence, out of which only harm can come. The questions raised about widows are not raised about widowers. It can only be because laws applying to women have been framed by men. If law-making had been the business of women they would not have given themselves fewer rights than men enjoy. In countries where women have a hand in law-making they have had the necessary laws enacted for themselves.

Thus the answer to the above questions is that it is the duty of the father to marry off his young widowed daughter. As regards the rest no obstacles should be placed in the way of those who wish to remarry.

There is no reason to believe that when such an arrangement comes into effect all widows would remarry. In those countries where widow-remarriage is allowed all the widows do not remarry, nor do all the widowers. Only when widowhood is observ-

[1] *Vide* pp. 68-9.

ed voluntarily is it worthy of praise. Enforced widowhood is to be condemned and leads to promiscuity. I know of many widows who do not wish to remarry though there are no restrictions imposed on them.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 11-7-1929

124. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

July 11, 1929

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL,

What is the news about you? Moti should be sent here for some length of time. I hear she has epilepsy. She is losing weight. If she comes here we can try some remedy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12144

125. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 12, 1929

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I understand what you write about Bijolia. We have invariably found amazing results wherever truth and non-violence were sincerely employed. In response to your letter I wrote out one to Kshemanandji on the same day. I myself do not know that Kshemanandji has not himself understood my point of view. His was very clear but you may ask him when you come or write to him. Send Ramnarayanji over here whenever he wants to come. I hope you know that his wife will live apart in the women's section, or don't you?

I had fever just for two days. My experiment with the diet has nothing to do with it. The experiment continues. I am pleased to know that Vaijanathji's book has been well received.

Please do not bother yourself about giving up milk. I myself cannot as yet claim complete success in my experiment of giving up milk. But I am pulling on somehow, because my insistence on giving up milk is my own and also long standing. I am distress-

ed when I take milk. I get the almonds wiped with a clean dry piece of cloth and pounded fine along with the skin. The powder turns to something like ghee. Formerly I used to skin them after soaking them in water. Later I came to know that the skin too contained some salts. These ought not to be wasted. Moreover, the skin is certainly laxative. If you try the experiment of almonds you must take one of these, viz., tomatoes, cabbage leaves, fresh *tandalajo*[1]. From these one obtains the vitamin which is to be found predominantly in green leaves alone. Nowadays it is widely believed that this vitamin is essential. Green leaves, tomatoes or cabbage must be taken uncooked. Vitamin A is destroyed by the mere applying of heat. I do not think any part of your letter now remains unanswered.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6065. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

126. TELEGRAM TO NAGESHWARA RAO

[On or after *July 12, 1929*][2]

NAGESHWARA RAO

POSITION COMPLICATED TRYING SEND "NAVAJIVAN" MANAGER DISCUSS WITH YOU AND DECIDE FOR HIMSELF.

From a microfilm: S.N. 15425

[1] A variety of edible leaves

[2] This was sent in reply to the addressee's telegram dated July 12, 1929 from Madras which read: "Former Press decree 3,500. Paper merchant warrant 3,000. Arranging press security 7,000. Please remit telegraph transfer."

127. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

July 13, 1929

BHAISHRI NAJUKLAL,

I have your letter. When Moti comes here after two or three months I would certainly not be here. Moreover it is not good to let such a disease drag on in this way. What is the hitch in sending Moti immediately?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12145

128. MEANING OF THE TERM 'FADDIST'

Readers have provided useful assistance in giving the meaning of the word 'faddist'. The equivalent of this word in Gujarati (*dhuni*) was sent in by four persons. One of them is a lady who does not know English. However, from the definition that I had given of it, she readily thought of the word '*dhuni*' and that is the word which comes nearest in meaning to the word 'faddist'. Some others had suggested the Gujarati equivalent of the word 'crazy' (*chakram*). A faddist is never a crazy individual. In English, there is a good word for the latter type of person—a 'madcap'. The other word that was suggested was *dadharingo*; that, however, will not do.

For those who know both English and Gujarati, it will be an interesting pastime to find out the equivalents in one language of words in the other, and if anyone compiles such a dictionary, it will be a useful thing. It is not the function of the dictionary I have in mind to make sentences and thereby give the meaning of a Gujarati word in English and *vice versa*. In the dictionary which I visualize, only the equivalents of words that are used in daily life in either of those two languages are given in both languages. Anyone who is a diligent lover of the language can compile such a concise dictionary within a short period of time. Such a small dictionary will prove very useful to those like me who do not wish to use English words while speaking Gujarati. Anyone who has the ability, the interest and the time to spare should compile such a

dictionary. If it is sent over to me and if it is found useful, *Navajivan* will be prepared to publish it and pay something for it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-7-1929

129. HOW TO DESCRIBE THEIR MAJESTY?

Although both Simla and Darjeeling are in the Himalayas, in neither of these places could I get an idea of their grandeur. I stayed in these places only for a short while and they looked like British colonies to me. It was in Almora that I got some idea of what the Himalayas are. But for the Himalayas, there would be no Ganga, Jamuna, Brahmaputra and Indus; if the Himalayas were not there, there would be no rainfall and these rivers would not be there, and without rainfall India would become a desert like the Sahara. Our far-sighted ancestors who knew this and who were always grateful to God for the gifts that were bestowed on them turned the Himalayas into a place of pilgrimage. Thousands of Hindus have sacrificed their lives in these parts in their search for God. These persons were not insane. It is as a result of their *tapas* that the Hindu faith and India herself still endure.

In Kausani, while looking at the row of snow-capped Himalayan heights glittering in the sunlight, I wondered how different types of people would react to the sight of those grand white peaks. Let me unburden my mind by sharing with the reader the thoughts that overpowered me again and again at that time.

If children were to see that sight, they would say to themselves that that was a mountain made of *sutarfeni*[1], that they would like to run up to it and, sitting on top of it, go on eating that sweet. Anyone who is as crazy about the spinning-wheel as I am would say that someone has peeled the cotton pod, separated the seed from the cotton, carded the latter and made a mountain of cotton like an inexhaustible stock of silk and remark, 'How stupid the people of this country were that despite this wealth of cotton, they roamed about half-naked and half-starved!' If a devout Parsi happened to come across this sight, he would bow down to the Sun-God and say: 'Look at these mountains which resemble our *dasturs*[2] clad in milk-white puggrees just taken out of boxes and in gowns which are equally clean and freshly-

[1] A sweet resembling in appearance white thread

[2] Priests

laundered and ironed, who look handsome as they stand motionless and still with folded hands, engrossed in having the *darshan*[1] of the sun.' A devout Hindu, looking at these glittering peaks which collect upon themselves water from distant dense clouds would say: 'This is God Siva Himself, the Ocean of compassion, and who by holding the waters of the Ganga within His own white matted hair saves India from a deluge.'

Shankaracharya[2] had roamed about in Almora. Even today I can hear him say, 'This is indeed a marvellous sight, but all this is an illusion created by God. The Himalayas do not really exist, I do not exist and you do not exist. Brahman alone is real. It alone is the truth, while the world is illusory. Repeat, therefore, that while Brahman is the only reality, the world is unreal.'

Oh, reader! The true Himalayas exist within our hearts. True pilgrimage, or supreme effort on the part of all human beings, consists in taking shelter in that cave and having *darshan* of Siva there.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-7-1929

130. IF SPINNERS ALSO WEAVE?

Shri Jethalal Govindji's self-confidence and enthusiasm are most extraordinary. He has sent me the following report[3] which deserves consideration.

Where a spinner can weave, he is being encouraged to do so; however, it should be admitted that this is not being done with the same amount of fervour as shown by Shri Jethalal. Such enthusiasm can be found only in an experienced person. It is obviously desirable that all the processes involved in making khadi, including weaving it, should find a place in the farmer's household. It is for the sake of weaving that emphasis is laid on carding and spinning. However, if we stress all these activities equally, there is danger of the importance of spinning being lost sight of. Once the activity of spinning becomes established, weaving will

[1] Sight of a holy person or thing

[2] Eighth-century philosopher

[3] Not translated here. The correspondent had argued that, if a carder were also a spinner, he would card cotton so well that the yarn would not snap while spinning; that if a spinner were also a weaver he would spin in such a way that the yarn would not snap while weaving; if a weaver were also a salesman, he would weave well enough to attract buyers.

automatically find a place in the farmer's household. An army commander who has besieged a wall, does not start shelling the entire wall, bur rather concentrates his attack upon a small portion of it and makes a hole in it. He regards himself as having triumphed when the first hole is made. The mason who is engaged in the process of demolishing a wall does not bring down his hammer upon all the bricks but rather strikes a blow at a single key brick; once that crumbles, in an instant he knocks down all the rest with the help of a crowbar. A somewhat similar argument applies to the stress laid on spinning. This argument does not apply to Shri Jethalal. He should not limit his self-confidence at all. It does, however, apply to the patience of those who feel dizzy on reading this letter. If the talk about weaving scares them, let them ignore it. For all those who can understand them the calculations worked out by Shri Jethalal are full of hope and guidance. We have not yet even touched those skeletons of whom I speak so often and whose number exceeds a crore. Compared to these, the class of persons whom we have been able to reach is better off. These human skeletons do not even have room to keep looms, many are even without homes and roam about like wild animals. For them, the *takli* is the only tool available.

When they get this, their eyes will regain lustre. Weaving can only come as the next step. Shri Jethalal may not even have come across such individuals. I have seen a few such persons here and there. Even after covering much ground, I did not have the good fortune of visiting their homes, or one may say that my penance has not been adequate enough. They live at a great distance from the railway line. In those skeletons dwells the real Lord of the Poor.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 14-7-1929

131. ABOUT "NAVAJIVAN"

I have before me a pile of opinions sent by "lovers of *Navajivan*" regarding the publishing of news in this magazine. Every day I am inundated with letters on this subject. The readers have discussed the matter well and in an interesting manner. If numbers alone are to be considered, the majority welcome the suggestion for the inclusion of news items. However, the number of persons who have opposed this idea is not small either. And the reader will well understand that it is likely that there is deeper

reflection behind the negative answers. One of these is as follows:[1]

Another gentleman has written in Hindi to this effect: 'I read *Navajivan* in order to find happiness from a vision of truth. I do not at all like the suggestion made by the "lover of *Navajivan*".'

The above-mentioned letters contain much that is in the same strain. I have merely given the substance of these. Let us put aside their praise of *Navajivan*. The sum and substance of their opinions is as follows: 'The scope of *Navajivan* has already been defined. By adding to its size, it would lose both ways.' I feel that this argument is correct. The temptation to include news items is indeed great. However, it appears to be some sort of a craze. No periodical can serve several purposes. The task of *Navajivan* is to serve the cause of swaraj. Hence my dharma is to engage my colleagues' time merely in trying to achieve that end. To utilize their energy even for other worthy causes would be as good as retarding the cause of swaraj. This then is a fundamental consideration.

While considering the matter with Shri Mohanlal, I find that there are many practical difficulties too. News items cannot at all be included without increasing the price of *Navajivan* and this I regard as undesirable. Some persons are indeed of opinion that news items should be included even if it means increasing the price of *Navajivan*. However, such generosity should not be taken advantage of. *Navajivan* has to reach even the poorest of the poor sections of society. If at all it were possible for me to do so, I would lower its price, but would not increase it.

Moreover, there is a difficulty in the selection of news items. What items are to be included and what are to be excluded? The tone of the letters written by many persons implies that, since we do not get correct reports these days, *Navajivan* will be able to do that job. This is an illusion. The latter too, would have to depend upon inland and foreign telegrams and newspapers. *Navajivan* is not in a position to employ its own correspondents and get reports from them. No newspaper in India is in such a position. The cables sent by Reuter and such other agencies are not reliable. Almost all of them are motivated by self-interest, are hurriedly despatched, involve partiality and are provocative. Which of such news items should be included and which excluded?

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that during the nine years that he had been reading *Navajivan* he had had no difficulty in understanding an article because no news items had been published along with them. *Young India* and *Navajivan* were better than *Indian Opinion* because they contained "sacred articles" and no news.

I see other practical difficulties also. Hence, I have finally arrived at the conclusion that there is no room for news items in *Navajivan*. However, I found this discussion most interesting. I am indebted to those who took part in it. In particular, I have been enabled to understand my responsibility. Much remains to be done in the way in which *Navajivan* is being conducted. I shall attempt to do this if possible. I have to abandon many subjects owing to lack of time and to my tours. I shall try and take them up. And I shall take care to bear in mind the original idea behind the suggestion, i.e., I shall try and give facts which have a bearing on any incident referred to in an article. In this manner, there will be no difficulty in understanding the subject-matter.

My suggestion to those who hanker after news is that they should get it from elsewhere and they will lose nothing if they give up craving for it. Balfour was Prime Minister of England; he was a highly learned man. He had said that he never read newspapers; his secretaries put up to him anything that he ought to know. This statement was neither exaggerated nor arrogant. He did not feel any necessity for reading newspapers. Being of a studious disposition, he did not wish to give his time to reading newspapers. What would villagers gain by reading newspapers? They would come to know of the progress of motion pictures, of the progress made in aviation, stories of murders, facts describing the various revolutions that are going on in the world, dirty descriptions of dirty proceedings of law-suits, news regarding horse races, the stock exchange and motor-car accidents. Mostly items of news mean only these things.

Of course, villagers, too, should have a knowledge of history and geography. There are other means for obtaining this knowledge. That is the task of the Vidyapith. This problem involves the education of the men and women dwelling in villages and not that of rural children. Kakasaheb has taken up this task with the help of the charitable gift made by Shri Nagindas. With the grace of God, we shall be able to see its good results within a short period. It has been decided to publish an educational supplement to *Navajivan*. Whatever can be done through it will certainly be done. Moreover, whatever news items are necessary for mental development, for an understanding of the world and for forging unity with it will readily be available in the supplement to *Navajivan* or in the second half of it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 14-7-1929

132. LETTER TO A RUSSIAN CORRESPONDENT[1]

SABARMATI (INDIA),
July 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your kind and interesting letter for which I thank you. I may not have been able clearly to express my view on war and non-violence in the pages of *Young India*, but you may be sure that I am not likely to take part in any armed conflict that may arise anywhere including my own country.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C. W. 9703. Courtesy: The Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in India

133. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

July 14 [1929][2]

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

Your letter. What has been said about that lady applies equally to the men. As for you, you must stop worrying and seek the support of Ramanama. All will be well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 199

[1] Exhibited at the Gandhi Darshan Exhibition (1969), New Delhi, by the Cultural Department of the U.S.S.R. Embassy

[2] From the postmark

134. LETTER TO JETHALAL JOSHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 14, 1929

BHAI JETHALAL,

You must obtain a testimonial from the Vidyapith; only then can something be done.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1349

135. LETTER TO ALBERT M. TODD[1]

July 15, 1929

It is kind of you to offer me pecuniary assistance if I satisfy you that I am in need. Though I always remain in need by the very nature of the philosophy of life that I have adopted, my needs are supplied by those in India who are interested in the activities that I am engaged in. I send you herewith the constitution of the Ashram[2] which will give you some idea of the various activities.

M.K.G.

From a photostat: S.N. 15213

[1] In reply to his letter dated April 25, 1929, which read: "Because I wholly approve of you and your work, I would like to send some money, perhaps five hundred dollars. . . . If I find that you are in need of help, I will be glad to give, so far as I am able. . . ."

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 398-410.

136. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

July 15, 1929

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

The customary letter from you has been missing for so long. Why? It is all well here. About thirty of us are carrying on the experiment of uncooked grain.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3348

137. LETTER TO MOOLCHAND AGRAWAL

July 15, 1929

BHAI MOOLCHANDJI,

I have your letter. We can achieve very little through public agitation in the States. Do what you can by discussing things personally with the authorities. Or else call off the public meetings.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 755

138. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

Silence Day [July 17, 1929][1]

CHI. GANGABEHN SENIOR,

I did shrink when I permitted you to resume the medical role. But it will not matter since you will exercise it with care. Make as little use of it as you can. Improve your own health. Do not be embarrassed on account of the change of rooms. Let these changes go on. Indeed, do we ever have a room of our own? *Aparigraha*[2] is an attitude of the mind. If we regard a thing like a pen as

[1] As in the source, though the Silence Day fell on the 15th.
[2] Non-possessiveness

belonging to us we commit *parigraha.* We should live as and where the world lets us live. A perfect spirit of service will be born only if one could conduct oneself in this manner. Be very firm regarding Krishnamaiyadevi and Maitri.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–6: G.S. Gangabehnne, pp. 25-6

139. NOTES

A Good Soul Passes away

Dr. Ruth P. Hume writes from Ahmednagar:

> A cablegram came today telling of the passing on [*sic*] of my father—Rev. R. A. Hume, D.D.—on June 24th.
>
> I wanted to tell you, as you and my father were personal friends. And I thought possibly you might care to mention it in *Young India.* Of his life and work you know—also that he was born in Bombay in 1847, returned to India as a missionary in Ahmednagar in 1875, and retired to America in 1926. He had been active until recently. But he was in poor health. So we would rejoice for his release and give God thanks for his long life of service.

Yes, indeed, I have pleasant recollections of the deceased friend. He carried on an extensive correspondence with me both whilst he was here and after he had gone to America. I recognized in his letters his warm-hearted affection for India. He rendered assistance to Dinabandhu Andrews whilst he was touring in that great continent. I share with his daughter the rejoicings for the release of this good soul from the earthly tabernacle. Death such as this affords no cause for sorrow or condolence. Death always is but more especially in cases like this a "sleep and a forgetting".

Anti-vaccination

Sjt. Krishnagopal Dutt of Sialkot wires:

> Secretary, Anti-vaccination League, Palghat, was imprisoned because he refused getting his son vaccinated. Refer my statements Associated Press. Pity people regard things other than political unimportant. Poor Secretary imprisoned, noble cause, but country's Press callously silent. Kindly express your strong feelings in Press.

I congratulate the Secretary on his incarceration for the sake of conscience. But I have no anger in me for the indifference of the public or the Press over the incident. I am and have been for years a confirmed anti-vaccinationist but I recognize that I must not expect public support for my views. Anti-vaccination has no backing from the orthodox medical opinion. A medical man who expresses himself against vaccination loses caste. Tremendous pecuniary interests too have grown round vaccination. A sort of temporary immunity from smallpox is gained by vaccination though at much cost otherwise to the body and certainly to moral fibre. But all this argument often based on solid experience counts for nothing against the tangible though temporary immunity from smallpox, which the person who has the filthy vaccine injected into his body gets. It will be thus to the end of the world. The State can only act as it has in the case of the Secretary. It will do so even when full swaraj is established. It behoves reformers then to be patient with an unbelieving public and a Press which generally refuses to move in advance of public opinion. This imprisonment of the Secretary must be regarded by us anti-vaccinationists as a boon, but it ceases to be that when we parade or exploit it. Such imprisonments are a prelude to reform when they are taken quietly and gracefully. Soon there would be a conscience-saving clause in the law. But before it comes those who do not believe in vaccination have to prove their immunity by following a strictly hygienic life and by imposing isolation on themselves in times of epidemic. I read in the Press that the Secretary fasted as a protest. I am convinced that this fasting was wrong and uncalled for. You fast against a wrong. Here there was no wrong done by the court. A civil resister cheerfully accepts imprisonment for his resistance. Again, you may not fast against all wrongs. Fasting to be good has well-defined limitations which I have often discussed in these columns. When the limit is crossed, it becomes ludicrous when it is not worse.

Sacrificial Spinning

The Secretary of the A.I.S.A has addressed the various khadi organizations to enlist members of the A.I.S.A. which is the same thing as saying that they should canvass for increase in sacrificial spinning. There is unlimited scope for it, if we but set our minds to the task. Hawking khadi is becoming popular after a great deal of whipping up. But it is not yet realized that hawking is useless if there is no khadi to hawk. Spinning for wages cannot be organized in a moment. It requires money and workers.

Sacrificial spinning requires no money and few workers if the spirit of sacrifice and an appreciation of spinning for sacrifice can be evoked. I hope the appeal made by Sjt. Banker will meet with prompt and adequate response.

Young India, 18-7-1929

140. AN ANDHRA HERO

During the recent Andhra tour I was presented with a portrait of a young man as that of a great patriot. I did not know anything about Alluri Shri Rama Raju. Upon inquiry I was told many stories of his exploits. I thought them to be interesting and inspiring as an instance of sustained bravery and genius, though in my opinion misdirected. I therefore asked for an authentic record. Sjt. M. Annapurniah, editor of a Telugu paper called *The Congress*, has kindly sent it to me. I have considerably abridged it.[1] Though I have no sympathy with and cannot admire armed rebellion I cannot withhold my homage from a youth so brave, so sacrificing, so simple and so noble in character as young Shri Rama Raju. If the facts collected by Sjt. Annapurniah are true, Raju was (if he is really dead) not a *fituri*[2] but a great hero. Would that the youth of the country cultivated Shri Rama Raju's daring, courage, devotion and resourcefulness and dedicated them for the attainment of swaraj through strictly non-violent means. To me it is daily growing clearer that if the teeming millions whom we the articulate middle classes have hitherto suppressed for our selfish purpose are to be raised and roused, there is no other way save through non-violence and truth. A nation numbering millions needs no other means.

> Much is not known of the early life of the great Alluri Shri Rama Raju. He was born of a respectable Kshatriya family in a village called Mogallu, in the West Godavari District. . . . He studied up to the fifth form at various places in Andhra Desha and was never known to be bright at school. He was a good singer, and a promising young poet. . . .
>
> He was not known to have any great sympathy with the non-co-operation programme. His subsequent confessions and conduct show violence. But he patiently waited and allowed non-co-operation to have its trial. In the whole programme of Gandhiji boycott of courts and liquor appealed to him. He started in the Agency tracts of Godavari and

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.
[2] Trouble-maker

Vizagapatam Districts a campaign of prohibition. His piety and devotion attracted huge crowds around him. His word was law to the Agency folk. They were guileless and his eloquent appeals touched their hearts. 'Don't dance attendance at the courts and don't drink' was his message to the villagers. His message spread like wildfire. Not one in the Agency but responded to his bugle call. A new consciousness dawned on the innocent folk. People gave up drink in large numbers. Courts were deserted. A number of panchayat courts sprang up in the villages and justice was administered locally. Raju is reported to have been a regular khadi wearer. From the confessions in the *fituri* trials, it is clear that Raju supplied only khadi uniforms to his troops. Sjt. Rallapalli Kasanna, a non-co-operator and khadi producer of Tuni, was put on trial for having supplied khaki khadi uniforms to Shri Rama Raju. Shri Rama's temple was his abode. There he used to perform *tapas*. Huge numbers flocked to have his *darshan* every day. They used to listen to his utterances which were, from all accounts, reported to be thrilling. He used to deliver spiritual messages, but in the milk of spirituality there was invariably the sugar of patriotism. People drank this milk with great fervour. What was the result? A young sannyasi of twenty-five, preaching revolution to illiterate Koyas, slow to move, but unapproachable, when they do move. The bureaucracy at once scented it. . . . The Mahommedan deputy collector and the saint Raju were alleged to have met. Nothing is known as to what transpired between them both. But the result was that he recommended to the Madras Government a grant of land of thirty acres to Raju with extensive facilities to undertake cultivation. The grant was actually made. The patriot was thus sought to be made a farmer.

But no! The patriot remained a patriot. He was not the man to be content with thirty acres, he wanted to wrest the whole of India from the usurping hands of the foreign bureaucracy. That was the ambition of his life. He read the *Gita*. He realized his *svadharma*. A vision of free India dawned upon him. And he quietly started his work. The situation in the Agency tracts helped him very much. He fully exploited it to the country's advantage.

The scene was the Gudem Taluk in the Agency. In the Agency, there is not the ordinary rule obtaining in the plains. . . . The Koya had lost his elementary rights. He could not fell one tree in the forest as before for cooking his food. His cow could not freely graze on the forest pasture as before. Thus the whole of the Agency was seething with discontent.

. . . Rama Raju exploited these local grievances in the Agency for a fight for liberty. Raju was so much loved by the Agency people that they refused to give any information about him in spite of the greatest amount of coercion. . . .

There were on the whole six encounters and in the first five Raju had a decided victory. The British requisitioned the services of the Malabar Force, while special troops arrived from Assam also. There was deadly fight. . . . At one time Raju's forces were surprised by the enemy while asleep and Raju himself narrowly escaped death after heroically attacking the enemy. The last was also a surprise attack against Raju's forces and after desperate fighting the latter were vanquished. That practically was the end of the great struggle for liberty. Rumours were current in those days, that Raju was very much depressed to hear that the Agency people were put to enormous hardships by the Government by way of demanding supplies, infliction of punitive taxes and other kinds of coercion. This depression was to some extent responsible for his defeat or surrender. . . .

But what about Raju? . . . His alleged death is shrouded in mystery.

Young India, 18-7-1929

141. SWORD OF DAMOCLES

Section 124 A is hung over our heads like the sword of Damocles whether we are feasting or fasting. It has descended upon Dr. Satyapal's devoted head whilst preparing the political feast for the Congressmen and women who will flock to Lahore during the Christmas week. Two years' rest in a prison *plus* a fine of Rs. 500 is the reward that the Punjab Government had awarded to Dr. Satyapal for his having dared to love his country well. Dr. Satyapal has been adjudged guilty of sedition because he wants freedom for his country from misrule. Where is the Indian, be he Liberal or Nationalist, Mussalman or Hindu, who is not knowingly guilty of sedition, if Dr. Satyapal is? I have read again and again the speech which was the subject-matter of the indictment against Dr. Satyapal. A diligent man could easily find from the daily Press speeches much stronger than Dr. Satyapal's. Disaffection has been described by a commentator on the Section as want of affection. He goes so far as to say that he who has no affection for the Government established by law is guilty of disaffection. I do not know any Indian who has actually affection for the Government as it is today established. It is a rape of the word 'law' to say that it is a Government established by 'law'. It is established by the naked sword, kept ready to descend upon us at the will of the arbitrary rulers in whose appointment the people have no say.

Dr. Satyapal's incarceration therefore suggests a wide agitation for the repeal of Section 124 A. But repeal of that Section and the

like means repeal of the existing system of government which means attainment of swaraj. Therefore the force required really to repeal that Section is the force required for the attainment of swaraj. It may be perfectly possible to make a show of repeal and retain by a concealed route the same powers now exercised under the Section. No such dodge will or should satisfy the people at this stage. If therefore we *feel* that Dr. Satyapal has been wronged and in him the whole movement, we must intensify the movement and evolve a government for which we can have real affection, which we can call our own. There will then be no sedition on a nation-wide scale, no political murders or attempts at such with the secret sympathy of a people tired of superimposed rule. That we have not yet changed the condition which we know to be intolerable is not proof of our satisfaction with it, it is proof no doubt of our helplessness. But that helplessness is fast going. Whether it is to find expression in anarchy and bloodshed or in well-ordered civil disobedience remains to be seen. Much will depend upon the wisdom of the English rulers, more however will depend upon ourselves. If we will look less towards Downing Street or White Hall and more towards ourselves, we shall shed our impatience. We shall then be too busy building up to be impatient. I have a suspicion that many of us want swaraj as a gift instead of earning it by the sweat of our brows.

Young India, 18-7-1929

142. UNFIRED FOOD EXPERIMENT[1]

Unusual and unexpected interest has been evoked by my experiment in unfired food. It has given rise to interesting and instructive correspondence. I observe that there is quite a number of men living on unfired food and many more who have at one time lived on such food. My correspondents will excuse me for my not acknowledging all such letters individually. But they may rest assured that I have taken in whatever was new and acceptable in their suggestions. Several have asked me for further information on the progress of my experiment.

The experiment still continues. There have been moments when I have weakly doubted the wisdom of continuing it. This was when extreme weakness had overtaken me during the Andhra

[1] An article similar to this appeared in *Navajivan*, 14-7-1929, under the title "Unfired Food".

tour. But my faith in the correctness of the theory behind unfired food and my partiality for it are so great that I would not easily give up the experiment. For it has for me a value not merely sanitary but also economic and moral or spiritual. It is of great importance to national workers who have to work in different parts of the country often in trying circumstances. This food surmounts all the difficulty arising from the different food habits of the different provinces. But of this more if I can write of the experiment with fairly absolute confidence. At the time of writing, all I can say is that it seems to have done me no harm. Dr. Ansari, who knows my body well, examined it carefully whilst I was in Delhi on the 5th instant and was of opinion that he had never found me to be in better health than now. My blood pressure (systolic) which after the breakdown at Kolhapur[1] had never been found to be below 155 was now registered at 118, pulse pressure at 46. Though 118 he thought to be subnormal, it was no bad sign as I had just risen from a slight attack of malaria and I was then living on juicy fruits only.

My resolve to continue the experiment has been considerably strengthened by reading Dr. Muthu's great work on tuberculosis and Colonel McCarrison's instructive and carefully-written food primer. The former contains an illuminating chapter on diet and the latter which is dedicated to the children of India is popularly written and gives in a very concise manner all the information on nutrition that a layman need possess. It is a book which needs to be read with caution. It puts, naturally for the author but unduly according to my experiences, much emphasis on the necessity of animal food such as meat or milk. The unlimited capacity of the plant world to sustain man at his highest is a region yet unexplored by modern medical science which through force of habit pins its faith on the shambles or at least milk and its by-products. It is a duty which awaits discharge by Indian medical men whose tradition is vegetarian. The fast-developing researches about vitamins and the possibility of getting the most important of them directly from the sun bid fair to revolutionize many of the accepted theories and beliefs propounded by the medical science about food. Be that as it may, both these authors seem to me to agree that it is best to take all foods in their natural state if we are to derive the highest benefit from them and especially if we are not to destroy some of the important vitamins they contain. They opine that fire

[1] On March 26, 1927; for the "Medical Opinion", *vide* Vol. XXXIII, Appendix III.

destroys some of the vitamins and the most essential salts and vitamins are removed when the covering of wheat is removed for the attainment of extreme fineness or of rice for its polish.

In my previous article, I have warned the reader against copying my experiment.[1] But after two months' trial I am able to say with confidence that anyone may try it provided he retains a small quantity of milk and ghee. Though my own experiment is both unfired and milkless, I am not yet in a position to recommend avoidance of milk and ghee. Though my belief in the possibility of avoiding milk and ghee without endangering health is unshakable, I cannot claim as yet to have found a combination of vegetarian foods that will invariably produce the results claimed today for milk. These authors are undoubtedly of opinion that a little addition of milk and—or—ghee (pure) raises the food value of vegetarian proteids and fats and promotes assimilation of the latter.

I may now tell the reader what I am taking at present:

Sprouted wheat	*Tolas*	8
Pounded almonds	,,	4
Whole almonds	,,	1
Green vegetable, e.g., marrow (*dudhi*) or cucumber or the like (grated)	,,	16
Raisins (or fresh fruits)	,,	20
Lemons		2
Honey	*Tolas*	4

Neither the quantity nor the variety is absolutely fixed. Often I avoid almonds or wheat or both. Sometimes I take sprouted gram and grated cocoanut instead of wheat and almonds. The reader need not take honey. He may take *gur*[2] but in no case white sugar which is decidedly harmful. Sugars are best obtained from raisins, figs or dates all of which should be taken in moderation. He may increase the quantity of wheat if he finds it to be insufficient. In the beginning stages there will probably be a feeling of emptiness. It will be due to the fact that by ill usage the stomach is distended. Till it assumes its natural size, the emptiness should be put up with. It may be partly overcome by taking juicy fruit or a little more vegetable or better still by drinking plenty of water, never by exceeding the maximum quantity of wheat or gram. Milk may undoubtedly be increased if the purse allows it. Over thirty comrades have taken up the experiment with me. The maximum fixed for them is:

[1] *Vide* pp. 36 & 53.

[2] Jaggery

Sprouted wheat	*Tolas*	20
,, gram	,,	8
Vegetables	,,	16
Cocoanut	,,	8
Khismis	,,	4
Lemon		1
Milk	lb.	½
Fresh fruit when available		
Ghee instead of cocoanut	*Tolas*	2

The quantity of milk and ghee is the minimum. Those who need more are at liberty to take more. We all take a little salt. I omitted it for one month. But some medical friends have warned me against giving it up. And fancying that I was feeling weak or being really weak, I began taking salt in Almora. The quantity taken by me is not more than 30 grains during the day. Honey is taken 3 times a day separately with hot water. Too much stress cannot be laid on the great necessity of thorough mastication. We have so ill used our teeth and gums that we now find it difficult to make proper use of them.

Young India, 18-7-1929

143. ARTLESSNESS OR AUDACITY?

The following correspondence[1] will be read with interest.

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S BUNGALOW, GONDA,
June 19, 1929

THE SECRETARY,
ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

SIR,

I write to draw your attention to the famine in Gonda. . . . They[2] have done their part and the public are beginning to do theirs. I need money to relieve poverty outside the famine area and am receiving subscriptions from private persons.

I appeal to you as to an organization which claims to promote the country's welfare not only political but also social and economic . . . you have promised £100-0-0 to the League against Imperialism; will you not give as much to the league against starvation?

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.
[2] The Government

Prominent members of the Congress are collecting funds to save from prison thirty-one alleged Communists at Meerut; will you not do the same to save from famine five lakhs of hungry men at Gonda?

Moreover if you wish to further two causes, charity and politics at a single stroke, will you send me all the foreign clothes you collect? I will despatch them to this wild tract on the Nepal border where they will no longer be an eyesore to good patriots. If you commute the sentence on European clothes from burning to banishment, I guarantee that they will never return. You will not, I think, wish any longer to burn clothes when you realize that there are thousands of your countrymen wearing rags which are too scant even for decency. True patriotism is to help your fellow-countrymen in their need, and I appeal to you for a generous contribution both of money and clothes.

Yours sincerely,
B. J. K. HALLOWES
PRESIDENT, FAMINE RELIEF FUND, GONDA

B. J. K. HALLOWES, ESQ.
PRESIDENT, FAMINE RELIEF FUND
DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S BUNGALOW, GONDA (U.P.)

SIR,

Your letter of the 19th of June was delivered to me on the evening of the 24th June. . . .

Conditions in the district of Gonda and in its neighbouring district of Bahraich are terrible enough. . . . Surely there must be something very seriously wrong somewhere in the machinery of the State or the structure of society or both.

The days when we could cast the blame on the gods for all our ills are past. Modern science claims to have curbed to a large extent the tyranny and the vagaries of nature. . . .

Your relief works must bring some solace, however temporary, to many. They are certainly to be appreciated. But do you not think that all this charitable relief does not touch even the fringe of the problem of Indian poverty? . . . It is certain that the charity of the wealthy does not put down poverty and famine relief measures do not put an end to conditions which cause famines.

The whole *raison d'etre* of the National Congress is to put an end to such terrible conditions by removing the root causes. The Congress is convinced that only by changing the whole system of government and the structure of society can poverty be conquered and a measure of social well-being introduced. . . it is for this reason that the Congress associates itself with other organizations, like the League against Imperialism, which also attack the root cause of poverty and inequality.

If the Government at present functioning in India were really desirous of attacking and eradicating poverty they would do something much more and vastly different from the petty relief they give in times of acute distress. They would feel that in a country where there is such terrible poverty it is a tragic absurdity to have an expensive and top-heavy system of administration. They would feel that the whole political and economic system they have built up in the country, and the social structure they have bolstered up, have impoverished the country with great efficiency and rapidity, and this process continues. They would realize that the responsibility for this poverty is theirs and therefore the speediest way of ending it is to remove themselves from the scene of action, liquidate their Government and make room for others who can tackle the problem with greater disinterestedness and competence than they have shown.

. . . You will want a surer remedy giving more permanent results than the quack's nostrum. I trust that you will appreciate that this sure remedy lies in the complete replacement of the present system of government and a change in the social structure. . . . Your co-operation, moral and material, as well as the co-operation of all others who object to the exploitation of a country or a people or a class by another will be welcome.

. . . The Congress believes that even temporary relief should take the form of teaching an auxiliary industry to agriculture which will provide an immediate income now and a welcome addition in better times. . . . The method of organizing this kind of relief is to encourage carding and hand-spinning by lending and distributing spinning-wheels and cotton. Hand-weaving, of course, automatically benefits by this. If you appreciate this kind of relief and are prepared to co-operate with it, I shall gladly recommend to the All-India Spinners' Association to do what they can in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
GENERAL SECRETARY

It is difficult to believe that the Deputy Commissioner's letter is seriously meant. It reads more like a veiled sermon to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru than a request for help. If it is a sincere request for help, the references to the League against Imperialism, the Meerut prisoners and the foreign clothes' burning are irrelevant if not impertinent. The Deputy Commissioner has got the answer he deserved. His request is like that of an army of occupation asking for help from comparatively better-off victims for the worse off, when both could be immediately relieved if the army removed the pressure by withdrawing itself. And why should Government

officials expect help from organizations like the Congress which have their own method of dealing with famines and the like? The writer of the letter forgets that Congressmen who desire boycott of foreign cloth cannot consistently give it even to the famine-stricken. It will be in their opinion to perpetuate the state of starvation. Foreign cloth is believed by them to be one of the most potent causes of India's poverty. To make use of that cloth even in times of distress is to put off the day of relief from starvation.

Young India, 18-7-1929

144. SIKHS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Dinabandhu Andrews writing about the Indian settlers in British Columbia says:[1]

> . . . the Sikh community in British Columbia have done great credit to India, the Motherland. They have struggled on courageouly all these years and have helped one another in a truly brotherly manner. There has never been a case of destitution in which the Khalsa Dewan Society has not come to the rescue. It has done my heart good to see such sturdy independence of character and such manly endurance as has been shown by these brave people.
>
> Secondly, the 'Komagata Maru' trouble is now a thing of the past. The British Columbians are ashamed of what happened and they do not in any way defend it. There has also been some amendment; because now the Sikhs are quite freely allowed to bring in their wives into Canada and many of them have done so. This is one thing accomplished. . . .
>
> One thing still remains, namely, citizenship. They have not yet received citizenship, as Indians have done in Australia and New Zealand. Nevertheless, if this were pressed for now, it would surely be granted, and the time is ripe. What is needed is for someone, of noble character and bearing, like Mr. Sastri[2], to go out to Canada as Agent-General and live there. If this were done, then citizenship would certainly follow.

Let me give the conclusion of the whole matter. The world today is drawing closer together. India cannot any longer afford to stand apart. India should have her ambassadors in every great progressive country of the world, making for fellowship and goodwill.

Young India, 18-7-1929

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.
[2] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

145. THE RUNNING SORE[1]

A Maheshwari young man from Sholapur referring to the question of marriages of child girls with old men writes:[2]

> . . . Will you please advise as to the best way peaceful satyagraha can be offered in this behalf?
>
> What, in your opinion, should be considered to be the proper age limit for the bride and the bridegroom, respectively, for marriage? And in what circumstances would you recommend the offering of satyagraha for the prevention of unequal marriages? . . .
>
> Would you kindly let us have your opinion on all these points in the columns of *Hindi Navajivan*?

There is no doubt that satyagraha is the right thing in such cases. But how to offer it is another question. I have more than once dilated, in my writings, on the limits of satyagraha. Satyagraha presupposes self-discipline, self-control, self-purification, and a recognized social status in the person offering it. A satyagrahi must never forget the distinction between evil and the evil-doer. He must not harbour ill will or bitterness against the latter. He may not even employ needlessly offensive language against the evil person, however unrelieved his evil might be. For it should be an article of faith with every satyagrahi that there is none so fallen in this world but can be converted by love. A satyagrahi will always try to overcome evil by good, anger by love, untruth by truth, *himsa* by ahimsa. There is no other way of purging the world of evil. Therefore a person who claims to be a satyagrahi always tries by close and prayerful self-introspection and self-analysis to find out whether he is himself completely free from the taint of anger, ill will and such other human infirmities, whether he is not himself capable of those very evils against which he is out to lead a crusade. In self-purification and penance lies half the victory of a satyagrahi. A satyagrahi has faith that the silent and undemonstrative action of truth and love produces far more permanent and abiding results than speeches or such other showy performances.

[1] Originally published in *Hindi Navajivan*, 18-7-1929, this appeared under the title "Notes from *Hindi Navajivan*". For Pyarelal's introductory note, *vide* footnote on p. 161.

[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

But although satyagraha can operate silently, it requires a certain amount of action on the part of a satyagrahi. A satyagrahi, for instance, must first mobilize public opinion against the evil which he is out to eradicate, by means of a wide and intensive agitation. When public opinion is sufficiently roused against a social abuse even the tallest will not dare to practise or openly to lend support to it. An awakened and intelligent public opinion is the most potent weapon of a satyagrahi. When a person supports a social evil in total disregard of a unanimous public opinion, it indicates a clear justification for his social ostracism. But the object of social ostracism should never be to do injury to the person against whom it is directed. Social ostracism means complete non-co-operation on the part of society with the offending individual; nothing more, nothing less, the idea being that a person who deliberately sets himself to flout society has no right to be served by society. For all practical purposes this should be enough. Of course, special action may be indicated in special cases and the practice may have to be varied to suit the peculiar features of each individual case.

But what about the sensual old man who even in his decrepitude cannot help his sensuality? Sensuality is blind; it cannot discriminate, it seeks satisfaction anyhow and at any cost. How should society deal with such a man? The reply is, by refusing to provide him with hapless victims. The rule about not giving in marriage any girl below twenty and against her will should be rigorously enforced. The question as to what the old man should do if no girl should be willing to marry him of her own accord naturally arises. Society has no answer to such a question; it is not bound to furnish any. It is concerned only with saving hapless girls from falling victims to blind lust. It is no part of its duty to provide means for the satisfaction of the latter. In practice, however, it will be seen that when purity pervades the social atmosphere it will serve largely to quell the lust of the lustful.

Young India, 8-8-1929

STATE CENTRAL LIBRARY

146. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

July 18, 1929

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. On the 26th I shall touch Allahabad. We shall spend two days there. It will be good if you come over then. About coming here it is your duty to obey Father's command. But I believe Father will grant you his permission. Please pass on the enclosed letter wherever it should go.

I have now discontinued wheat and gram. I take only copra, fruits and some vegetable.

You must have your cough completely cured.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3359

147. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

July 20, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have glanced at the programme. So far as I am concerned it is all right. I think I shall easily stand it. I have not checked it for Mondays. But I assume that you have avoided travelling on Mondays.

Pyarelal, Devdas and Kusumbehn will be with me. Vallabhbhai, Mahadev and Manibehn will reach *via* Jubbulpore. I do not think there will be any other company with me.

You will please not detain me on 28th. I would like to get away by the first train after finishing on 27th.

I hope Kamala is better. I do want to see her healthy and bright when I come to Allahabad.

Yours,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

148. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

July 20, 1929

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

Herewith find the letter from Rajendrababu. Under these circumstances you should, for the present, remain at the Sadaqat Ashram and learn what you can, and in the month of August go to your in-laws' with courage. Having reached there you should serve your elders but observe your own discipline steadfastly. After all you have but to go there. Having pleased your parents-in-law with your humility, you may come back. If you do not hear from Jayaprakash in the mean while, I think it would be a mistake not to go to them when they are insistent. You should go there but should not observe *purdah*. You should speak to your father-in-law with courage. If he is cross you should patiently bear with it. His anger will subside when he sees your purity. Even after going there you should insist on continuing your studies. You should speak about Jayaprakash's insistence on English. You should explain that the *Gita* is essential for inner satisfaction. You may, if you want to, visit me at Allahabad.

Ask me if you fail to understand anything. I shall reach Allahabad on the 25th morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3353

149. MY NOTES

SUPPLEMENT TO "NAVAJIVAN"

What Kakasaheb decided long ago has at last been put into effect today. Hence along with this issue, the reader will receive with no extra cost a supplement to *Navajivan* entitled *Shikshan ane Sahitya*. The management of *Navajivan* have taken a risk by resolving in this manner to publish this supplement, because *Navajivan* is not going to receive any financial benefit by doing so. Behind this venture is, indeed, the expectation that lovers of literature will purchase more copies of these issues of *Navajivan* for the sake of this supplement. Regardless of whether that hope materializes or not,

it will be brought out every month around the full-moon day. I hope that everyone will go through the supplements carefully and preserve them. It will be Kakasaheb's constant endeavour to make this supplement more and more useful from the educational standpoint. Ultimately, it is hoped that it will wholly become the organ of the expanding activities of the Vidyapith. It will also contain news of the Vidyapith and the various national schools running in India. There is, however, no need for me to anticipate the future. The reader himself will see and evaluate the improvements that will be made in these issues from month to month.

Sacrificial Spinners' Dharma

Although everyone is aware of the story of bundle of sticks, it is worth refreshing one's memory about it from time to time. Even a delicate child can break a single stick. However, even a giant like Ramamurthi[1] cannot break a whole bundle of sticks. A single stick cannot even heat a little water, whereas a bundle can cook cereals for thousands of persons. Similarly, sacrificial spinning practised by a single individual may well prove ineffective. Sacrificial spinning practised by large numbers of persons can keep out cloth imported from Manchester, Japan and such other places and save one hundred million rupees which go out of India every year. The Charkha Sangha has been founded following the worldly law which knows of no exceptions. The very word 'Sangha' indicates the strength that underlies it. Hence, those who believe in the strength of the spinning-wheel, those who have faith in sacrificial spinning, should join the Sangha at this juncture and increase its strength. And those who have already joined it should invite their neighbours to follow suit. It should be borne in mind that even youths have a place in it. Though youth associations have been formed at various places in the country, I do not find young men making proper or full use of the strength that lies in unity. If all boys and girls studying in schools realize the strength that underlies the *takli*, thousands of persons can enter the fold of the Charkha Sangha and a beautiful mountain of yarn can be raised every day. In this manner, every man, woman, child or aged person can readily do this in addition to his or her regular occupation and thus contribute one's share in the sacrificial offering that is swaraj. Will-power alone is required. Hence if you do not spin already, you should start doing so, inspire others to do so, start wearing khadi if you do not already do so, inspire others to do so, join the Charkha Sangha if you do not already belong to

[1] A strong man then famous as 'the Indian Sandow'

non-violence and attribute non-violence to something beyond these limits, some of them are puzzled and some are annoyed, while others pity me. I would like to tell all these three categories of people that, if they will have a little patience, the riddle of non-violence can be solved to some extent. I am a seeker and a worshipper, not one who has already attained the end; hence I am liable to make mistakes and deserve to be forgiven. In this age of discoveries and exchange of ideas, no one will be harmed if I express my ideas. If I have committed any mistakes, I shall correct them. If there is any substance in my belief, other seekers will benefit thereby.

Let me now come to the subject-matter. My humble opinion is that perhaps there is some mistake in the prevalent Jain belief regarding diet. From the standpoint of non-violence, I feel that one commits an offence in killing plant life for the sake of food. The least amount of violence is involved when anything that is edible is eaten directly after it is plucked from the tree. All storage is full of violence. There is untold violence in the touch of fire. There is violence even in lighting a fire. Then to consign green or dried substances to the fire involves even greater violence. All this is self-evident. In not bringing vegetables near fire and not drying them, there is less processing of them. All needless processing is stained with violence. Anyone who eats vegetable products after drying or cooking them is not free from the original taint. By killing vegetable matter when it is outside of one's physical body and consuming it, one incurs the sin of killing it. Pulses allowed to germinate are not rendered stale; pulses prior to germination are not lifeless. Hence I see no objection in permitting these to germinate.

How cooked vegetables affect the body is a separate matter and one which deserves consideration. My experience and that of other experimenters suggest that the body does not get the same satisfaction from eating cooked vegetables as it does from eating them fresh and tree-ripened. Whatever is cooked over fire has an intoxicating element within it, hence it readily arouses passionate feelings. My experience of the last four years goes to show that as soon as I started eating cooked food I lost the freedom from passions which I had acquired while eating raw vegetables. I am again attaining to that passionless state now. I have before me similar experiences which doctors have reported. However, I do not wish to add to the length of this article by quoting them. If anyone wishes to read the literature, I shall give him the names of the books.

I have no defence for the use of honey. I believe that it would be better if one could avoid it. I do not recommend

eating it to healthy persons. Since I had not given it up, I started taking it when the doctor at Yeravda specially recommended it to me and I still take it. However, at the end of this experiment, I hope to give up honey. I have already decreased the dosage. I regard honey as being less harmful than sugar. Both doctors and vaids are of opinion that, from the standpoint of health, it is preferable to sugar. However, if this experiment succeeds, I will readily get from the items that are included in the experiment the same food value which I get from honey. Not a single bee is harmed if honey is extracted by the improved technique, but this is no justification for taking honey.

I do not differentiate as between health, non-violence and the ultimate aim of life. Whatever is health-giving should further the cause of non-violence and should not be opposed to the ultimate aim of life. What is in question here is health in its pure and real sense. In this poor country, where society has become disorganized and millions are dying of starvation, the question of the ultimate end has become a difficult one. However, it is required for the success of this experiment that it should be within the reach of the poor as well. This, however, is a long-term position. I myself cannot conduct this experiment taking into account only the body. I wish neither to survive nor to win swaraj by practising what I consider to be opposed to my dharma. I consider it to be man's achievement to harmonize dharma and the ultimate aim of life, truth and swaraj; swaraj and government by all, the welfare of the country and the welfare of all. That alone is the path that leads to *moksha*, that alone is what interests me. Whosoever wishes to share that interest is welcome to do so. None of my activities are carried on with any other end in view.

I do not know about the discovery made by Rishabhdev Swami.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-7-1929

152. PRODUCTION OF KHADI IN GUJARAT

Nowadays, there is an all-round increase in the sale of khadi, but its production has not kept pace with it. Gujarat has laid the foundation of the khadi movement but has not been able to build a solid structure over it. One reason for this is quite clear. Gujarat is the centre of the cotton textile industry. If Bombay too is regarded as a part of Gujarat, 99 per cent of the cotton textile mills are located in Ahmedabad and Bombay. It is for this reason that Gujaratis started wearing mill-made cloth earlier and, as compared to other provinces, Gujarat shelves the spinning-wheel sooner.

However, Gujarat has taken up the message of swaraj with enthusiasm. Its contribution to constructive activity is very large. Hence it is befitting that Gujarat should also attain a place that is worthy of it in the matter of khadi production. Gujarat cannot possibly compete with Tamilnad and other regions. It can, however, make as much progress as it wishes in the method of self-reliance and in sacrificial spinning. It does not matter if the spinning-wheel is not adopted in Gujarat as a form of labour. For the method of self-reliance and sacrificial spinning, some sort of idealism is necessary. If this idealism is generated and if the idea takes root that swaraj is bound up with yarn, the methods of self-reliance and sacrificial spinning will succeed without the least difficulty. Why cannot the municipalities of Gujarat and other places imitate what is being practised in Almora? Why cannot those of us who have plenty of spare time learn to spin and start spinning regularly every day? It is necessary to propagate this idea in every house. Those who are engaged in door-to-door hawking of khadi should take up the task of producing khadi.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 21-7-1929

153. *LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI*

SABARMATI,
July 21, 1929

MY DEAR BROTHER,

I had expected a note from you on your return from East Africa. Do please tell me what you did there. I hope your health is good. I hardly read the papers for the continuous touring. And when I do, it is merely to cast a passing glance.

Yours,

From a photostat: G.N. 8817

154. *LETTER TO N. TCHERKOFF*[1]

SABARMATI,
July 21, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter which was still lying in my file. I write this simply to acknowledge it with thanks. I hope to deal with it at length some day or other if I can scrape together a few hours. Meanwhile let me tell you that there is not the slightest difficulty about my endorsing the sentiment that all war under any conceivable circumstance is undesirable.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

N. TCHERKOFF, ESQ.
MOSCOW—66, U.S.S.R.

From a photostat: C.W. 9704. Courtesy: The Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in India

[1] Exhibited at the Gandhi Darshan Exhibition (1969), New Delhi, by the Cultural Department of the U.S.S.R. Embassy

155. LETTER TO FULSIMHA DABHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 21, 192[9][1]

BHAISHRI FULSIMHAJI,

I have your letter. Indeed I would like the children to undertake the experiment in diet, but they can do so only under your supervision and with your consent. Here I let the children too try the experiment. It does them no harm. Sunshine, complete rest and open air all the twenty-four hours are most important for your wife. She should take as much milk and fresh fruit as possible. It is better if she takes *bhakhris*[2] prepared from wheat roasted and ground at home rather than barley porridge. These *bhakhris* should be well masticated. [She should have] more of milk or curds and less of *bhakhris*. She should also chew green leaves of vegetables. If she does this her health will surely be all right.

Blessings from
BAPU

SHRI FULSIMHAJI
SHRI V. B. RASHTRIYA VINAYMANDIR, SUNAV (*via* ANAND)

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1293

156. LETTER TO JETHALAL JOSHI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
July 21, 1929

BHAISHRI JETHALAL,

Your postcard is yet to be answered. In the matter of sticking to ideals it is as much essential to be tolerant of others as it is to be strict with one's own self. Members of the family too are to be brought round with humility. Impatience or use of force indicates lack of faith in the ideal. If you want to see me you can come at 4 o'clock on any day, other than Monday, when I am at the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1350

[1] The year is inferred from the reference to "experiment in diet".
[2] A kind of chapati

157. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, KADI

Tuesday, July 23, 1929

I have been anxious to visit this institution[1] for the past year. Ever since I heard that Shri Chhaganbhai Pitambardas and other individuals are devoting their entire life to this institution, I have been eager to come here. It is laudable that this institution should be protected and nurtured by the citizens of Kadi and the people of Baroda State. Your children will receive a good education if you are prepared to send them here. Here you will find purity of thought and conduct which are even more valuable than a knowledge of the alphabet.

Along with the congratulations that I wish to offer to the secretary and the management of this institution on the simplicity and clarity of its report, I should also like to say how sorry I am that they have not yet been able to solve the problem of untouchability. Hinduism cannot be conceived of without the abolition of untouchability. If this untouchability is not destroyed in this age of reason, when one religion comes into contact with and is compared to another, any religion which is greatly polluted or whose roots are rotten cannot survive. If Hinduism were rotten at the roots, I would have abandoned it. I am not content with having been born in a Hindu family. As a human being one may swim in one's father's well but not get drowned in it. Although the Hindu religion is good, untouchability constitutes a blot on it. Hinduism would certainly have been destroyed if the ignorance involved in untouchability were inherent in it. If it harbours this ignorance, we must sacrifice our lives in order to remove it. This institution with which Chhaganbhai is associated may tolerate untouchability because of social pressure. In the welfare of the Kadva Patidar community lies the welfare of Hinduism and of all human beings. By assuming that in the welfare of one community lies the welfare of all others, one should regard this as a matter of pride. You will not be able to serve the Kadva Patidar community if you regard any human being as untouchable. If I were to institute a comparison between child-marriage and untouchability, I would disregard the former, as that practice is prevalent among the Patidars who are regarded as high-class people.

[1] The Kadva Patidar Ashram

It is not prevalent all over the country. If it had been, society would have perished. One can be patient with regard to child-marriage but untouchability cannot be tolerated even for one moment. The people should make their intentions known that deserving untouchables will certainly be accepted. Along with this, people should also be advised to spin. Not only should spinning be encouraged, but great stress should be laid on it. You should insist that ornaments and jewels should be taken away from the children entrusted to you and that they should be taught spinning.

If you desire to further the growth of nationalism, you should accord a place to Hindi. It is a language which can be learned easily. It sustains work and also helps in carrying it on. The Congress programme, although light and beautiful, is also extensive. It is such that it can give those who live in the country a share in something worth doing and always welcome. The programme consists in propagation of khadi and boycott of foreign goods. Khadi should be accepted to the extent that even foreign thread should be boycotted. Khadi is being sold here but the demand for it cannot be met. It is not in keeping with the principle of khadi that it should be produced at one place alone and then distributed elsewhere. You should yourselves spin, make khadi and wear it. You could be said to produce wealth for the country even if you could spin a little while carrying on your activities. If you wish to wear fine khadi, you should spin fine yarn, but you should make fullest sacrifice in the boycott of foreign cloth.

In this State the income from liquor is large. We do not wish to derive any benefit from this income. Whatever the reason for it, we should approach those who own liquor booths, those who drink, and the Government, and launch a movement in this matter. You can also lovingly persuade people to abstain from drink. You can reason with those who run the liquor booths. Those who drink ruin their lives. They forget the distinction between a wife and a sister, a distinction which even a child can understand.

Nowadays, instead of protecting cows we eat them. The reason behind a large number of cows being exported to Australia — thanks to the Hindus of India — is that beef worth crores of rupees is being produced there. Its essence is extracted from that beef. I could make you shed tears if I described that process to you. Cows are being slaughtered there. Even our Muslim brethren do not carry out so much slaughter on Bakr-Id day. A large number of cows are sent from Gujarat and Kathiawar,

We thus commit this sin directly. Rearing cows does not imply tying up a cow in front of one's house in order to worship it. If the she-buffalo is to be permitted to survive, the cow will have to be slaughtered. If the latter has to survive, the former must be given up. The buffalo benefits nobody. The person who discovered the buffalo for the purpose of milk has virtually caused the slaughter of cows. If someone says that camel's milk is useful and that the she-camel is a very serviceable animal, we shall kill both cows and buffaloes. We do not yoke the buffalo to the plough. The he-buffalo can be put to use in Konkan. Both the cow and her calf can be useful. Even medical science can demonstrate that the product of the buffalo cannot be put to as many uses as those of the cow. All that I wish to say is that it is our supreme dharma to protect the cow. If we on our part afford this protection to the cow, its protection will be brought about automatically. The Hindu can save the cow throughout the world. It is because we are steeped in our selfishness that we fail to see that which is there right before us. So long as we do not castrate the bull, we shall be unable to protect the cow. We could protect the cow only if we put it to full use. By regarding hide as untouchable, we encourage the untouchables to eat beef. We have lost the use of bone-manure. If this is made available free of charge, all farmers will make use of it. There is not a single tannery functioning in India where only the hides of dead cows are being used. I am the only one running such a tannery. I have engaged a person in the Ashram specially to [help me] master this trade and am gaining proficiency in it. If the cow is to be protected, her progeny should be developed through castration. If her offsprings are healthy, we can obtain a minimum of 20 seers of milk from each cow. I have seen a cow in Bangalore which yields 80 pounds of milk. But it is fed adequately. No buffalo can yield 80 pounds of milk. As many as five or six years would pass before we could obtain even 20 pounds of milk from the cows we have. Breeding bulls should be secured and taken to various [breeding] centres. That is the duty of the State as well.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 28-7-1929

158. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU[1]

[On or after *July 23, 1929*]

JAWAHARLAL

YOU MAY FIX UNFURLING CEREMONY SUNDAY IF NO TRAIN AVAILABLE SATURDAY AFTER COMMITTEE MEETING.

From a photostat: S.N. 15434

159. FROM BRITISH GUIANA

The following from Dinabandhu Andrews's letter[2] dated 1st June at Georgetown will be read with interest.

> There can be no question whatever, that conditions in British Guiana are better than elsewhere, *except* for the climate which is a very damp one. . . .
>
> The greatest of all things which draws me to this Colony is the obvious freedom from the worst forms of race prejudices. The number of Europeans is so exceedingly small. . .
>
> . . . The African race does not compete economically with the Indians . . . the African people are on the whole turning away from agriculture, while the Indian people are sticking to it in all the enormous development of rice cultivation. . . .
>
> . . . We have as a people spent a very great deal of serious thought and consideration upon the Indians in Africa, but I say that here is, in the New World, an Indian population greater than that in the whole of Africa, and now I feel the time has come for us to put our best energy into improving the condition of things out here in such a way that future generations may be proud of this colonization of Indians in the New World. . . .

This letter has to be read with caution. I cannot enthuse with the Dinabandhu in his praise of Demerara as a land suitable for Indian colonization. Reports about its unhealthiness, it is clear, were not exaggerated. I should be most chary of encouraging emigration to such an unhealthy part of the world. I remember a naive suggestion once made in South Africa that the Indian

[1] In reply to his telegram dated July 23 from Allahabad, which read: "May I announce you will unfurl National Flag Sunday morning eight."

[2] Only excerpts from this long letter are reproduced here.

settlers should be encouraged to remove themselves to tracts more suitable for their settlement and wholly unsuitable for white colonization, i.e., to the most unhealthy tracts in that continent. It was not suggested that the climate of South Africa was unsuited to the Indian constitution. If anything the Indian fared better than the European from the health standpoint. But he was not wanted there by the white man. Now Demerara is such a favourable spot. There white men can barely exist. No wonder, therefore, that there are no political disabilities from which Indians are suffering and that an African is the Attorney-General. This is a matter of necessity and carries no virtue with it. If the African refuses to do agricultural labour there, I fancy that it is not because he will not work on the land but because he is too independent to do so under unfavourable conditions. He does work on his own land in South Africa. Why should his poverty consign the Indian to the most trying occupation in the most unhealthy part of the world? It is the same story in East Africa. The Highlands are not for him. On the whole therefore the problem before the Indian public is just now to better the conditions of life here, and by attaining swaraj, to raise India's political status before considering colonization schemes. In my opinion it is enough for us if meanwhile we are able to safeguard the rights of Indians already settled in the different parts of the world.

Young India, 25-7-1929

160. URBAN v. *RURAL*

Several correspondents have sent me cuttings from *Prabuddha Bharat* containing an elaborate criticism of Gregg's book[1] and thereanent the whole cult of the charkha. The articles are too long for reproduction in these pages. I must refer the curious to the original. But they enunciate the following propositions:

1. India must become industrial in the Western sense;
2. the question of physical existence cannot be solved by the charkha;
3. the conditions attached to the success of the charkha make too large claims on prevailing tendencies and human nature;
4. the justification and superiority of machines lie not so much in meeting the internal needs of a country as in invading and capturing foreign markets;
5. if India is to live and fulfil her spiritual mission among men, she *must* modernize herself. . . . Let us unhesitatingly and energetically

[1] *Economics of Khaddar*

assimilate the modern industrial methods. . . . But along with that we must practise spirituality intensely, create a mighty spiritual idealism in the mind of the nation and a great love for the country so that on the wings of them we may cross over the dark valley of modernism in which the West is sadly groping. *Without spiritual idealism, modernism will spell a speedy ruin.*

I have so far as possible copied the writer's words including his italics.

I am sorry that I am unable to subscribe to these propositions. They are obviously based upon the assumption that modern civilization is comparatively a good thing and that it cannot be resisted with any hope of success. There is a growing body of enlightened opinion in the West which distrusts this civilization which has insatiable material ambition at one end and consequent war at the other.

But whether good or bad, why must India become industrial in the Western sense? The Western civilization is urban. Small countries like England or Italy may afford to urbanize their systems. A big country like America with a very sparse population, perhaps, cannot do otherwise. But one would think that a big country, with a teeming population, with an ancient rural tradition which has hitherto answered its purpose, need not, must not, copy the Western model. What is good for one nation situated in one condition is not necessarily good enough for another differently situated. One man's food is often another man's poison. Physical geography of a country has a predominant share in determining its culture. A fur coat may be a necessity for the dweller in the polar regions, it will smother those living in the equatorial regions.

The author's second proposition that "the question of physical existence cannot be solved by the charkha" cannot hold water. On the contrary that question can only be answered by the charkha or its equivalent. Every writer of note whether Indian or European has admitted the necessity of cottage industries, if India is to live physically. The writer of the articles in question has done less than justice to himself, to Mr. Gregg and to his own country by summarily dismissing Mr. Gregg's dispassionate thesis. Mr. Gregg has considerable engineering experience and he has shown conclusively that it will be suicidal, it must mean certain death to millions of India's population, if the solar power stored in the hands and feet of her three hundred million inhabitants is allowed to run to waste in the impossible attempt to replace it with steam or such other power *for the purpose of sustaining physical existence.* It would be on a par with the attempt made by a

man not to use his hand for bringing food to the lips but to let a machine do the work of the hand and run the risk in the bargain of sometimes burning his lips for want of the automatic protection that the sensory nerves connecting the hand with the brain afford against overhot dishes.

The third proposition is now simply answered. "The conditions attached to the charkha" not only make no "large claims on the prevailing tendencies and human nature", but they are based on "the prevailing tendencies and human nature" as they are to be found in India. Were it otherwise, in the midst of confusion and disappointment running through so many national activities the charkha would not have spread through 2,000 villages nor would it have shown the steady, though necessarily slow, progress it had demonstrably made during the past eight years' revival.

In the fourth proposition the writer justifies the worship of the machine age not for the reason that it may meet the "internal needs of a country" but because it means an "invasion and capturing of foreign markets". Unfortunately or fortunately for India there are no foreign markets to invade and capture. The consummate exploiters of the West have "done the trick". We may invade and capture foreign markets if we will at the same time invade and capture the foreign manufacturing countries. And if the writer has any such grand scheme in contemplation, methinks it is more difficult of accomplishment than the task set before themselves by the votaries of the charkha.

The last proposition gives away the writer's whole case. He will modernize India and yet retain her spirituality without which he thinks, in italics, that "*modernism will spell ruin*". He will have India to do what experienced sages have told us is impossible of accomplishment. "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." He seems to agree that the West has failed to reconcile the two. Why does he think that India can perform the impossible task? Why should it not be assumed that if the ancients could have done it, they would have done so long ago? Indeed it was after making the attempt that the authors of the Upanishads said, "All this is God's. Therefore live so as not to covet your neighbour's property."

ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किं च जगत्यां जगत् ।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः मा गृधः कस्यस्विद् धनम् ॥

Surely exploitation means usurpation. And usurpation can never be reconciled with spiritualism. It pained me therefore to read the article with such a dismal conclusion in a magazine which is solely devoted to spiritual culture.

What was more painful still was the exploitation of the name of Swami Vivekananda in connection with the double-edged theory propounded by the writer. The inferential invocation of the authority of the illustrious dead in a reasoned discussion should be regarded as a sacrilege. After all we, a handful of educated Indians, are shouldering a serious responsibility in gambling with the fortunes of the dumb millions whose trustees we claim to be. A still more serious responsibility rests upon the shoulders of those of us who claim to possess some spiritual perception.

Young India, 25-7-1929

161. NOTES

Welcome Home

The Wandering Singer has returned home after making many conquests in the West. Time alone will show how lasting is the impression created by her. If the reports received from private sources in America be any criterion, Sarojini Devi's work has left a profound impression on the American mind. From that triumphal tour she has returned none too soon to take her share in solving the many and intricate problems facing us in the country. May she cast over us the spell she was able so successfully to cast over the Americans.

Assam-Bengal Flood

I am publishing the first list of donations to the appeal[1] in respect of the calamity that has overtaken East Bengal and Assam. Just at the time of sending the manuscript to *Young India* office I find the following wire from Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh[2]:

> Sheth Ramanlal Keshavlal of Petlad (Gujarat) accompanied by Bhimjibhai, representative of Messrs Ranchhoddas Dayaram & Sons at Chittagong, Sjt. Harivallabh C. Shah and others came to Abhay Ashram, Comilla, on their way back from Silchar and Sylhet. . . . The method of work followed by the Ashram appealed to them, and they appreciated very much the idea of giving a sort of permanent relief to the agriculturists by the introduction of spinning-wheels, of which the Ashram has decided to have one thousand, and the idea of giving paddy for husking by which they can anyhow earn an honourable living instead

[1] *Vide* pp. 175-6.

[2] Secretary, Abhoy Ashram, Comilla; only excerpts from his telegram are reproduced here.

of depending on doles. Shethji and Bhimjibhai were pleased to announce a donation of Rs. 2,550 on the following heads:

1. For 200 spinning-wheels Rs. 550;
2. for paddy-husking work Rs. 1,250;
3. for two huts for the Ashram Rs. 500; and
4. for khadi debt of the Ashram Rs. 250.

This is merely a sample of what is being received by me.

Young India, 25-7-1929

162. *MILL-LABOUR IN BARODA STATE*[1]

TO
THE EDITOR
"YOUNG INDIA"

SIR,

May I draw your attention to the sad plight of the textile and other factory labour in the Baroda State and request you to extend your kind assistance for the betterment of their conditions? You are possibly aware that we have, in British India, a sixty hours' week rule, i.e., a general ten hours' day arrangement for the factory labour since 1922, but the mills in the Baroda State are even to this date allowed to work as long as twelve hours and at times even more. In the matter of child labour too whilst the Factory Act here has laid down a twelve years' age rule for half-timers and a fifteen years' rule for whole-timers, children of tender age are still taken in for work . . . as I know that it was with your advice and under your guidance that the textile workers of Ahmedabad strove for and obtained a ten hours' day even before the present Factory Act was enacted, as also that it was at your instance and under your influence that a similar reform has been effected this year by the Indore State. The Baroda State is now thinking of revising its Factory Act and has issued draft rules, which, if finally adopted, would bring the Act in a line with that prevalent in British India. I, however, understand that the local mill-owners are opposed to this much-needed and long-overdue reform. . . . This question is coming up for consideration before the Bardoa Council during the next week and if you can kindly see your way to express your views on this matter at this juncture, it will prove very helpful both to the Council and the State in arriving at a just and sound decision.

I am, etc.,
'A FRIEND OF BOTH'

[1] This appeared under the caption "Correspondence".

I gladly publish the foregoing letter[1]. I know the writer and I do believe him to be what he subscribes himself as. I do not know that my opinion will reach the quarters where it should, and if it does, whether it will have any weight. Anyway I am emphatically of opinion that no State, much less Baroda, can afford to do less than British India. Indeed even ten hours a day and the age limit for children in British India need improvement. If capital is not to fall into utter discredit, it behoves capitalists voluntarily to exercise self-restraint and make common cause with labour.

Young India, 25-7-1929

163. A VICIOUS BOOK

Three correspondents have written to me urging me to give my opinion on a book called *Swami Dayanand, A Critical Study of His Life and Teachings*, by F. K. Durrani, B.A., Muslim missionary. The author is the Secretary of Tabligh Literature Society, Lahore. A fourth correspondent has given me a copy of the book. One of them reminds me that I had no hesitation about expressing my opinion on *Rangila Rasul*[2] and tells me that therefore I should have none in giving it on Mr. Durrani's volume. I have gone through the volume with as much patience as I could command and I have come to the conclusion that it is a vicious, libellous book which should never have been written by a responsible man and published by a responsible society. The author protests in his preface that he will approach his subject in a scientific and dispassionate spirit. But he breaks that promise in the preface itself. He says, "We intend neither to praise nor to condemn." But in the very next page this is what he has to say on *Satyartha Prakash*. "It is a worthless book and the teachings and ideas contained in it are so absurd and so amusingly childish that one finds it hard to believe that a man who became the founder of such a powerful organization as the Arya Samaj could be the author of such drivel." The author has not hesitated to accuse the great reformer of falsehood, trickery, incapacity and addiction to *bhang* "whose narcotic juice often kept him insensate". "The account of his life left by himself is pure fiction." "A pall of mystery hangs over his origin and early years." He has not one

[1] Only excerpts from it are reproduced here.
[2] *Vide* Vols. XXIV and XXXIV.

good word to say of the Swamiji or the Arya Samaj. He has gone out of his way even to abuse Hindus and Hinduism. But I may not multiply proofs. Almost every page of the book furnishes ample ground for condemning it. The author lets the cat out of the bag in his concluding chapter. He says:

> If we love our motherland, if we want to make India a great and a civilized country, it is our duty to wash it clean of the stains of ancient superstitions of Hinduism and reach out the healing of Islam to every child of the motherland. . . . Islam is a conquering force and the Muslims were born to freedom and empire. Both can come to us, if we exert ourselves to expand our numerical strength. We are the children of the soil of India and we owe a duty to the motherland. Like other lands, she too should have a place of equality in the comity of nations. Hindu India will never be able to do that. She can be free and rise to power and glory only under the banner of Islam.

And this cherished desire of his the author has sought to fulfil by dipping his pen in venom and reviling one of the greatest reformers of modern times, his writings and the great and growing sect of Arya Samaj and incidentally Hindus and Hinduism. I advise Mr. Durrani to reconsider his views, apologize for the libellous publication and withdraw it. This advice I venture to tender because in a public letter he says:

> If anyone can prove that the book has been written out of spite and to hurt, hereby I promise to withdraw even the present edition and will not bring it into the market. I have greater fear of my own conscience than of any Government, and my conscience is clear in this matter.

If my testimony is worth anything, I can say that the book is bound to hurt every Arya Samajist and every Hindu, indeed every impartial man and woman not excluding Mussalmans. If a tree may be judged by its fruit then this book is a fruit of spite.

Young India, 25-7-1929

164. PROGRESS OF SELF-SUPPORT KHADI

Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta of Khadi Pratishthan sends the following interesting account[1] of the progress[2] being made by the Rashtriya Sangha which is trying to induce people to spin for their own khadi.

This is what I call good progress for the few months that the Sangha has taken up the work. If it becomes popular, there can be no doubt that the self-support method is the cheapest and the most efficient.

Young India, 25-7-1929

165. MY IMPERFECTIONS

A reader writes:[3]

What this correspondent says is of course true. I do use honey; I have not completely given up its use so far. I am more conscious of my imperfections than others can be. The fact is there are a number of things that I would like to give up but I have not yet been able to do so. Honey has been considered good for my health. I have not had the courage to give up honey, though I know that its use involves violence, as I have already given up a good many items of diet. To be intellectually convinced that a certain thing should be given up is one thing, to really give it up with one's heart is another. Having said this I must also say that my effort to give up honey continues. But if one gives up honey one must also give up sugar and jaggery. From the point of view of *vikriti*[4], sugar is the worst thing. Preparation of sugar involves a lot of violence also. Honey has not harmed me in any way. The doctors maintain that honey is very good for health. Then there is this in its favour: the modern methods of bee-keeping do not involve destruction of the bees. But of course that is no argument in favour of eating honey.

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] In Hooghly, 24 Parganas, Midnapur, Bogra, Burdwan and Calcutta

[3] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested that the use of honey should be given up as it involved violence to the bees. *Vide* also pp. 210-1.

[4] The correspondent had listed ghee, milk, curds, honey, liquor and meat as things producing *vikriti*, perturbation.

All enterprise carries with it some defect. All industry involves sin. The less of this the better.

I would now like to digress a little. The readers should understand that ahimsa does not end with consideration of what should or should not be eaten. We should of course give meticulous thought to these. But the ahimsa which has been described as the supreme dharma is much more than this. Ahimsa is the noblest feeling of the heart. So long as our relations with others are not pure and so long as we consider anyone our enemy, we cannot be said to have touched even the fringe of ahimsa.

A man who observes ahimsa scrupulously in eating and drinking, but is unscrupulous in business, does not hesitate to cheat and selfishly causes unhappiness to others, cannot be said to be observing ahimsa. But a man who, though a non-vegetarian, and not so particular about what he eats, is compassionate and has dedicated himself to helping others, must be considered a saint who knows the dharma of ahimsa and follows it whole-heartedly.

Straying from this central point we have forgotten our dharma. That is why I wish we would see the great *himsa* that the ever-growing distrust between us involves and prove our manliness in removing it. How should we behave with the English, with the Muslims or other communities? The search for an answer to this question provides the real field for ahimsa.

The research in pure food is the job of physicians endowed with noble qualities. The public in general cannot understand it. For this work a knowledge of science is essential. Whether I declare honey harmless or harmful does not matter at all. We should simply accept the views of one who has studied the technique of production of honey and has observed its effects. All enterprise is clouded with defect. Eating anything at all involves some violence. Having realized this our duty is clear: we should give up whatever we can do without. We should eat nothing to please the palate. One's body is the abode of God and one is merely its custodian. Therefore we should try our utmost to keep it pure as far as possible. We should never treat it as a means of indulgence. We should treat it as something meant to practise restraint upon and should increasingly cultivate self-control. Having once decided upon this, we are rid of the problem of what to eat and what to eschew.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 25-7-1929

166. *SPEECH ON COMPROMISE RESOLUTION, A.I.C.C. MEETING, ALLAHABAD*

July 27, 1929

The resolution moved by Mahatma Gandhi runs that:

In view of the general situation in the country this meeting of the A.I.C.C. is of opinion that the time has come when all national effort should be concentrated on the preparation of the country for a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation after 31st December, 1929, and agrees with the Working Committee that all Congress members of the various legislatures, central and provincial, should resign their seats to give effect to this campaign; but having regard to the views expressed by a considerable body of Congress members of the legislatures and some members outside them this Committee resolves that the question of withdrawal from the legislatures do stand over till the forthcoming Congress at Lahore.

This Committee further desires the public in general and the members of the legislatures in particular to prepare for complete withdrawal from legislatures, should such a course be necessary, on and from the 1st of January next.

Provided that nothing herein contained shall prevent members of the Congress Party in any legislature from resigning their seats before the Congress is held at Lahore if they consider it necessary to do so on any new issue that may arise hereafter.

Speaking in Hindi on the resolution, Mahatma Gandhi said that many would have been surprised at the resolution and as many would have also felt pain at it. Personally, he too felt pain at putting the resolution before the Committee. But it was the duty of the Working Committee to take into consideration all the circumstances before arriving at any decision. The opinion expressed by the members of the Councils was, he said, very strong. They would have resigned their seats in the legislatures if they were forced to do so by the Congress Committee but they would have at the same time kept a grievance and the result would have been that the Congress, which hitherto could boast of unity in its camp, would have been exposed to the danger of a split in its ranks. The Mahatma said:

Such a situation, none was prepared to face. At least I was not prepared to face it.

Proceeding, Mahatma Gandhi said that the Working Committee had also invited the Congress members in the legislatures to put their case

before it. Some of them presented their case to the Working Committee and also to him and their case was to the effect that the time had not come when the members should be asked to resign their seats in the legislatures although his personal view was that such a time had arrived and the country would be greatly benefited by severing connection with the legislatures. What opinion the President had now, he (Mahatma) held before and even then. But they had also to see that the Congress organization could not be conducted smoothly by enforcing individual views only. Mahatma Gandhi said:

You know that when the Swaraj Party came into existence and I came out of the jail, I entered into a compromise with your President and Mr. C. R. Das. I bent my head before them and the same thing I am doing today. Though I am not bending my head today before them but before those persons who think that they should not resign their seats in legislatures at this moment. We want to work with them.

It was this anxiety to maintain solidarity that prompted him to advise the Working Committee yesterday that although the time had arrived to take action suggested by the Committee, they should do what the Congress members of the legislatures desired today.

Proceeding, Mahatma Gandhi said that today they had postponed consideration of the question of resignations but the resolution authorized the members to resign of their own accord without asking the Working Committee in case any new issue arose necessitating their withdrawal from the legislatures before the Lahore Congress.

The resolution, he continued, also urged that it was their religious duty that they should start preparation from the 1st of January, 1930. They should prepare themselves to do from today what they would be required to do from the 1st January. On the 31st of August next, people would be called upon to give an account of their efforts for the enrolment of members for the Congress. It was not to be supposed that the Congress members in Councils should work only in Councils and not outside them. The resolution had increased their responsibility. The Mahatma said:

I also want to tell them that when the Committee had paid great consideration to their views they should also carry on their duties very devotedly.

Concluding, Mahatma Gandhi hoped that it would not be understood by accepting the compromise resolution that they did not want independence or non-violent non-co-operation. He trusted that on the 1st January, 1930 they would render a good account of themselves.

The Leader, 29-7-1929

167. MY DHARMA

July 28, 1929

A father who is grieved by the conduct of his son and daughter-in-law writes:[1]

The writer of the letter is well known to me. He is a respectable gentleman. With his permission, his son and daughter-in-law stayed with me for some time. I have a pleasant memory of my association with this couple. Both of them have self-control, are sweet-tempered, courteous and eager to obey their elders. Both have accepted a simple way of life. They have come of age. The son earns his own living. The daughter-in-law is not fond of clothes or jewellery. She has given up the veil and some of the evil customs prevalent in their caste. The father does not quite approve of this. Hence he is grieved and believes that they defy their elders because of their association with me.

The above letter is the outcome. I can understand a father's grief. But I do not regret my own conduct. I feel that the behaviour of the son and the daughter-in-law has been correct. Parents cannot insist upon their grown-up children following their example in all matters. In this age of independence, parents should give up such a desire. Even the Shastras say that a son of sixteen should be regarded as a friend.

I feel that, just as the son should observe certain restrictions, the father too should check his own desire to be worshipped as a god. The father should be satisfied if the son is polite, serves his parents when the need arises and looks after them if they become invalid. I have not heard of cultured parents in the past entertaining greater expectations.

I am aware that hundreds and thousands of young men have come under my influence. I am conscious of my dharma. I believe that I had made a considerable effort to carry out my dharma as a son and had attained some success therein. My parents regarded me as an obedient son and gave me full freedom. I never felt irked

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated that Gandhiji's advice to youth to differ from their parents if their conscience warranted it was causing estrangement between parents and children, that before they took the vows of *brahmacharya* and *aparigraha*, they should be old enough to understand their implications and that men and women should live separately in the Ashram.

by the control they exercised over me. I have sons as well as grandsons. I impose no restrictions upon them. All who have come of age enjoy complete independence. I do not regret having given them this training. My eldest son openly goes against me. I am not unhappy over this. Despite this behaviour of his, I keep up my relationship with him as a father in accordance with what I consider my dharma. He signs his letters to me as "your obedient son". I do not feel that he is insulting me by doing so. I should realize that obedience has its limits. There are girls who stay with me as my own daughters, women who stay with me as my own sisters. They all enjoy freedom and have come to live here of their own free will. I do not feel that they should act in accordance with all my wishes. Their elders are not displeased because they stay with me. As a result of innumerable such experiences, I have arrived at the conclusion that while teaching one to exercise self-control in life, there is nothing wrong in giving one complete freedom. I have no knowledge whatsoever of anyone having come to harm through contact with me or of his life having become morally corrupt.

There is nothing mysterious in what I teach young persons; neither is there anything frightening about it. There is no danger in putting it into practice. In many instances I have found that all of it is acceptable to both the mind and the heart. Hence to those parents who are grieved at the conduct of their sons and daughters my plea is that they should recognize the signs of the times. I am alive today but may not be here tomorrow. The march of time is not going to be halted if I stay still. This trend is dragging people into leading a life of irresponsibility. By stopping it, I am trying to lead the young men on the path of self-control. Parents and guardians should assist me in this effort.

The writer finds fault with my conduct towards the women in the Ashram, in their touching me in a motherly spirit. I have discussed this matter with my colleagues in the Ashram. I do not know of any other place in India where women enjoy the amount of freedom, restricted perhaps, that women—both educated and uneducated—enjoy in the Ashram. I see no harm in a father innocently touching his daughter in public. My touch is of that kind. I never enjoy privacy. When young girls come out for a walk with me daily I put my hands on their shoulders and walk. The girls are aware of the fact and everyone else also knows that that touch is an innocent one without any exception.

We make our girls helpless, create undesirable ideas in them, and implant in them that which is not there. Thereafter, we

suppress them and then often make them victims of adulterous conduct. They come to believe that they are incapable of protecting their honour. A superhuman effort is being made in the Ashram to free young girls from this feeling of helplessness. I had started a similar sort of attempt in South Africa itself. I have not seen it bringing about any bad effects. However, as a result of their training in the Ashram, some young girls although they have reached the age of twenty try to remain free from sensuous thoughts and they are day by day becoming fearless and self-reliant. I feel that the belief that the touch or sight of a maiden stirs a man's desire is an insult to man. If that is indeed a fact, *brahmacharya* would become an impossibility.

During this period of truce, the relationship between a man and a woman in this country should be confined within certain limits. I have daily experiences suggesting risk in such freedom. Hence despite maintaining freedom for women, all possible restrictions are imposed in the Ashram. Except me no other man touches young girls as no such occasion arises at all. A fatherly relationship cannot be established at will.

I do not claim any power of yoga in order to justify my touching girls. I have no yogic powers. Like all others I too am a creature made of earth, subject to the same sexual instinct. But even men who have these feelings have been fathers. I have many daughters and many sisters. I am bound by the pledge of having only one wife. And my wife stays with me merely as a friend. Hence I have naturally to control the terrible sexual urge. My mother taught me the beauty of abiding by a pledge when I was in the prime of my life. The wall of my pledge which is harder than a diamond protects me. That wall has protected me even against my will. The future is in the hands of Rama.

Except in the case of some elderly couples, the Ashram provides separate living-rooms for men and women.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-7-1929

168. *WHAT HAS BEEN DONE FOR THE ANTYAJA?*

A reader of *Navajivan* writes:[1]

It is difficult to answer the question what I am doing for the *Antyaja*. I cannot recount it. Hence I can only reply that I have done nothing. If that appears to be a rude answer, one can say that I have done whatever my *Antyaja* brothers and sisters say I have done for them. As a matter of fact, I do for my own sake whatever I can by way of service to the *Antyajas*. It is wrong to say that anyone is uplifting these people. By doing away with untouchability, those who call themselves high-caste people uplift themselves and thereby protect the Hindu faith. Considered from this point of view, there is no need to give a reply to the above question. In so far as the question has been addressed to me alone, the answer is that on my own I do nothing and can do nothing in this matter. Innumerable colleagues of mine are engaged in this work in India. Anyone may take into account whatever part I may have in their work.

This gentleman erroneously believes that I am especially engaged in the work relating to khadi. I cannot even show that I am doing anything in this matter or what I can show is to the extent that I spin as a daily sacrifice. The rest is what is being done through my colleagues.

Moreover, it is obvious that in serving the cause of khadi, hundreds and thousands of *Antyajas* are automatically served. Moreover, service of the *Antyajas* is not something the value of which can be calculated in yards as in the case of khadi. If anyone asks how many schools have been started for them, how many wells have been dug for them, how many temples have been built for them, the replies to all these would certainly not satisfy me. If one can say how far the extent of untouchability has shrunk, one will certainly find the answer. But we do not have such an instrument for gauging this. Although there may be a thousand schools for the untouchables, as many temples and an equal number of wells, it may nevertheless be claimed that not a single brick has been pulled down from the edifice of untouchability. When the task of abolishing untouchability began, friends who regarded themselves

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested that, if Gandhiji's volunteers worked in co-operation wih the Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha, that would prove useful in achieving success in the political field too.

as staunch Vaishnavas told me that they would give me as much assistance as I wanted in the task of building schools, etc., if only I gave up the idea of abolishing untouchability. What did I wish to accomplish by such assistance? It could give me no satisfaction whatsoever. I did not want separate institutions for the *Antyajas*, but only the right of entry for them into existing public institutions. Separate institutions would bring no glory to the Hindus, but rather constitute a blot upon them. And today, if I do get involved in having separate schools, temples, etc., for them, it is only because of a feeling of helplessness, because I regard it as my dharma at this difficult juncture and because of hope that eventually the distinction between these institutions and others will vanish.

I myself can see untouchability disappearing but I do not have an instrument to show this.

> People run away when they see the flames on the path of love. Those who have entered them enjoy great happiness, while the onlookers get burnt.

The Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha deserve to be congratulated on the service they render to the *Antyajas*. I do whatever little I can wherever possible. I must admit, however, that because of differences in the manner in which the work is being done, very often I cannot offer my services. I do not crave to have a hand in all that is being done, I do not even have the capacity to participate in everything. I am aware of my own limitations, and I consider myself fortunate in doing whatever I can while keeping within these limits.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 28-7-1929

169. MESSAGE TO BOMBAY CONGRESS MUSLIM PARTY

July 28, 1929[1]

I am glad you are having a Congress Muslim Party. If it is well supported and if it does not go to sleep, it must prove a tower of strength to the Congress and the institution will be of real service to India in general, and the Muslim community in particular.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-7-1929

[1] The message was read out by Abid Ali on this date at the first meeting of the party in Bombay, with Brelvi in the chair.

170. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ON THE TRAIN,
July 29, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

Your letters[1] to Indu are excellent and should be published. I wish you could have written them in Hindi. Even as it is there should be a simultaneous publication in Hindi.

Your treatment of the subject is quite orthodox. The origin of man is now a debatable subject. The origin of religion is a still more debatable matter. But these differences do not detract from the value of your letters. They have a value derived not from the truth of your conclusions but from the manner of treatment and from the fact that you have tried to reach Indu's heart and open the eyes of her understanding in the midst of your external activities.

I did not want to strive with Kamala over the watch I have taken away. I could not resist the love behind the gift. But the watch will still be kept as a trust for Indu. In the midst of so many little ruffians about me, I could not keep such a piece of furniture. I would therefore be glad to know that Kamala will reconcile herself to Indu getting back her darling watch.

My article on the Congress crown[2] is already written. It will be out in the next issue of *Young India*.

Yours,
BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 72

171. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

July 29, 1929

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have just read your Tamil Nad report on the train taking me back to the Ashram. It is good. I like the frankness about it. I am sending it to Varadachari[3] for report.

[1] *Letters from a Father to His Daughter*

[2] *Vide* pp. 239-41.

[3] N. S. Varadachari, one of the joint authors of the essay *Hand-spinning and Hand-weaving*

What about the flood there?

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 893

172. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

ON THE TRAIN,
July 29, 1929

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

Send over the book *Science and Art of Living* by Dr. Leonard Hill if it is available at a low price. By low price I mean up to Rs. 3.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4713. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

173. NOTE TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI[1]

July 29, 1929

I have written to this man to bring over the girl. He must not expect that we will keep her in any case. After interviewing her and if she can stand the life at the Ashram, maybe there will be no hitch.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15432

174. NOTE TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI[2]

July 29, 1929

I have written to him that he can send over his representative. We shall bear the boarding expenses.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15418

[1] On Jangbahadursingh's letter dated July 17, 1929, from Gopiganj
[2] On B. Subramaniam's letter dated July 10, 1929, from Bezwada

175. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

July 31, 1929

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

You have despatched the book by return of post.[1] What could I send you besides my blessings?

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4714. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

176. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

July 31, 1929

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. Please read in *Hindi Navajivan* what I have written about . . .[2] Your advice is correct. Find out the truth if you can. We have no remedy for . . . if he is corrupt. We would protect him if he were pure.

About spinning—I have both [the classes] in view. We however want members from the educated class; not from amongst the poor spinning women. They would not understand this. We want to increase the production and also create an interest. Production would increase if we created interest. If men of understanding would take up spinning with conscious interest, they would add to the bulk of fine yarn and would also make new inventions. Not all would do it, but inventors will come from this class of spinners only.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6066. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Shantikumar Morarji", p. 236.
[2] As in the source; for Gandhiji's article, *vide* pp. 245-6.

177. LETTER TO BECHAR BHANJI

July 31, 1929

BHAISHRI BECHAR,

I have your letter. You should put up with your wife's behaviour as long as you cannot win her over with love. You may insist on the girls putting on khadi if they are not grown up. There again I would have you use your discretion.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5576

178. 'IS SWARAJ WORTH HAVING?'

The following letter[1] will be read with painful interest.

> I am a native of Vikrampur, and my home is only a few miles away from the home of Deshbandhu. I belong to the Namashudra community . . .
>
> The clerks in the office, where I am working, numbering 50, are all so-called high-caste Hindus . . .
>
> . . . I am looked upon here as a despised insect . . . Even the servant refuses to wash and clear away my plates . . . Although in cleanliness and decency I am not in any way inferior to any . . .
>
> . . . Is swaraj worth having when the mentality of the people is so cruel towards their fellow-countrymen? Will not the treatment of the so-called higher classes who occupy most of the top positions towards the so-called lower classes be terrible when the power is in their hands? . . . I am in intense agony of mind. Please reply sharp and also advise me what I am to do here.

As the writer does not wish to have his identity disclosed I have erased some parts of the letter. There is no doubt that what is happening to this Namashudra friend is the lot of many who are similarly placed. Though untouchability is undoubtedly going, the suppressed classes who are daily growing more and more conscious and naturally resentful of the terrible treatment meted out to them by the so-called higher classes are becoming restive. Their

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

fear, too, that if the things remain as they are when swaraj is attained, the reformer's may be a voice in the wilderness and blind orthodoxy may reduce to nought even the little progress that has been made, has a surface justification. I wish the "suppressed" friends could be made to see that the fear is in reality groundless. They do not give sufficient credit to the reformers. It is not the quantity that will count when freedom is gained. It is the determination of the few that is going to be the deciding factor. Surely he who runs may see that in the forefront of the fight for freedom are to be found the reformers and not the reactionaries who even now seek the protection of the foreign power for sustaining their reactionary policy which they miscall religion. When therefore swaraj is attained it will be the reformers who must have the reins of Government in their hands.

Again the suppressed classes should know that in any constitution that can be conceived there are bound to be full legal safeguards for their rights.

And lastly, they may not feel helpless and dependent on the aid of reformers. They have a just cause and they have themselves to defend it. True meaning of swaraj is that every member of the commonwealth is capable of defending his liberty against the whole world. Swaraj is an inward growth. Their restiveness is the surest and the hopefullest sign of their and India's coming freedom. Healthy discontent is the prelude to progress. But meanwhile it behoves all the clerks and others who come in contact with these classes to treat them with exemplary consideration and courtesy.

Young India, 1-8-1929

179. WHO SHOULD WEAR THE CROWN[1]

The occupation of the Congress chair is becoming more and more onerous year after year. It is a serious question who should wear the crown for the next year. It is all thorns and no roses. I have noticed my name as one of the possibilities. When I first saw it amongst the nominees of some committee, I did not treat it seriously. But now I find friends speaking to me seriously and pressing me even to ask for the crown even if it is not offered to me. I need not discuss here the reasons advanced in favour of the

[1] This was written before July 29, 1929. *Vide* "Letter to Jawaharlal Nehru", p. 235.

proposal. I admit the weightiness of some of them. I have given them all the consideration I was capable of giving them, but I must own I have neither the courage nor the confidence in my ability to shoulder the burden. I feel that I have become almost unfit for attending to the details of office work which I must do, as is my nature, if I accepted the office. I know too that I am not keeping pace with the march of events. There is therefore a hiatus between the rising generation and me. I look a back number in their company. Not that I believe myself to be a back number. But when it comes to working in their midst, I know that I must take a back seat and allow the surging wave to pass over me. I have mentioned two decisive reasons for my reluctance to shoulder the burden. There are others which I do not put in the same category as these. But I hold these two as sufficient to eliminate me from the list of nominees.

In my opinion the crown must be worn by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If I could have influenced the decision, he would have occupied the chair even for this year. But the imperative demand of Bengal compelled the senior partner to capitulate.

Older men have had their innings. The battle of the future has to be fought by younger men and women. And it is but meet that they are led by one of themselves. Older men should yield with grace what will be taken from them by force if they do not read the signs of the times. Responsibility will mellow and sober the youth, and prepare them for the burden they must discharge. Pandit Jawaharlal has everything to recommend him. He has for years discharged with singular ability and devotion the office of secretary of the Congress. By his bravery, determination, application, integrity and grit he has captivated the imagination of the youth of the land. He has come in touch with labour and the peasantry. His close acquaintance with European politics is a great asset in enabling him to assess ours.

But say the older heads: "When we are likely to have to enter into delicate negotiations with various groups and parties outside the Congress, when we might even have to deal with British diplomacy, when we have yet the Hindu-Muslim knot to undo, we must have someone like you as the head." In so far as there is force in this argument, it is sufficiently answered by my drawing attention to the fact that whatever special qualities I may possess in the direction indicated, I shall be able to exercise more effectively by remaining detached from and untrammelled by, than by holding, office. So long as I retain the affection and the confidence of our people, there is not the slightest danger of my not being able

without holding office to make the fullest use of such powers as I may possess. God has enabled me to affect the life of the country since 1920 without the necessity of holding office. I am not aware that my capacity for service was a whit enhanced by my becoming President of the Congress at Belgaum[1].

And those who know the relations that subsist between Jawaharlal and me know that his being in the chair is as good as my being in it. We may have intellectual differences but our hearts are one. And with all his youthful impetuosities, his sense of stern discipline and loyalty make him an inestimable comrade in whom one can put the most implicit faith.

"Will not Jawaharlal's name be a red rag to the English bull?"—whispers another critic. We give English statesmen little credit for common sense and diplomatic skill and betray less faith in ourselves when we think like the imaginary critic. If a decision is really right for us, it ought to be right for the whole world. If in choosing our President we have to take into consideration what English statesmen will think of our choice, we show little courage of our convictions. Personally I have a higher estimate of English character than that assumed by the critic. The Englishman prizes honesty, bravery, grit and outspokenness all of which Jawaharlal has in abundance. Even if therefore British statesmen are to be considered in making our choice, Pandit Jawaharlal suffers from no disqualification.

Lastly, a President of the Congress is not an autocrat. He is a representative working under a well-defined constitution and well-known traditions. He can no more impose his views on the people than the English King. The Congress is a forty-five-year-old organization and has a status above its most distinguished Presidents. And it is the Congress as a whole with which, when the time is ripe, British statesmen will have to deal. They know this probably better than we do. All things considered therefore my advice to those concerned is to cease to think of me and to call Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to the high office with the fullest confidence and hope.

Young India, 1-8-1929

180. A.I.S.A. PRIZE

The reader may recall that some years ago Sjt. Revashankar Jagjivan Jhaveri had offered a prize of Rs. 5,000 for a spinning-wheel that would do for the spinners what Singer's Sewing Machine does for the housewife. Many tried to win the prize. A skilled man was admitted to the Ashram and given every facility to make his experiment under the best of auspices. The attempt however failed. But hope of finding a suitable cottage wheel was not given up. Sjt. Revashankar Jagjivan is one of those who never lose hope. He has succeeded in persuading the Council of the Association to announce a prize that would attract even the Western inventors to compete for it. Consequently the reader will find elsewhere the A.I.S.A. advertisement announcing a prize of Rs. 1,00,000 or its present equivalent (roughly) £7,700. This figure will be maintained on the expiry of the time-limit irrespective of the fluctuations that the fickle rupee may undergo meanwhile. I hope that the prize will produce a spinning Singer who would raise the income of the village spinner eightfold.

Young India, 1-8-1929

181. "BRITISH TRUSTEES"

It is a real pleasure to give elsewhere Mr. Pennington's letter. Mr. Pennington is now a nonagenarian but his faith in himself and the nation he represents is as green as ever. I wish that we could have the same faith in ourselves and the nation we are humbly striving to represent. Mr. Pennington's postscript[1] is marked "private" but there need be no privacy about it. I have printed it as it does credit to him. The reader will join me in wishing him many more years of life upon this tiny globe.

To come to the subject-matter of my correspondent's letter, I must confess that he does not convince me. There would be no quarrel with him or the English administrators if they were real trustees. Mr. Pennington's honesty is beyond question. But surely he is labouring under self-deception. Some of the highest men in the British Cabinet have frankly repudiated the doctrine of trust

[1] Which read: "You are quite at liberty to publish this, if you like. I can hardly hope to write again having been born in 1839."

and enunciated for our benefit and the knowledge of the world the doctrine of the sword. "By the sword we have seized India, by the sword we propose to keep it." The sword here means obviously gunpowder and all the tricks of diplomacy that accompany that substance. It was therefore the naked truth which was uttered when the doctrine of the sword was enunciated.

Nor need Mr. Pennington and those who think with him be reminded that a trust is always a burden, a responsibility. But the British people have used their possession of India predominantly if not exclusively for their benefit. In their own words, they have exploited the country and its people. In the late Lord Salisbury's words they have bled India. Surely when a trustee discharges his trust, the ward feels its good effect and grows under its protection. But India's statesmen from Gokhale downward have testified that our growth has been stunted.

Pax Britannica is an overworked horse out of which no work is to be had now. Nobody is deceived by it. What we want is Pax Indica. And if we have to wade through a sea of blood before we reach it, the sooner we can do so, the better. We do not want a superimposed pestilential peace that smothers us, we want an inward oxidizing peace that will make us healthy and strong.

Mr. Pennington reminds us of the mandates, that euphemism for usurpation for the purpose of exploitation. Let him ask the mandated nations how much they appreciate the mandates. Hypocrisy and camouflage are among the curses of modern times. But sweet words butter no parsnips. They have ceased to deceive the people concerned. That well-intentioned people can still be hoodwinked into believing in worn-out beliefs and shibboleths is a great pity. Their usefulness for service is curtailed by unfortunate self-deceptions under which estimable men like Mr. Pennington labour.

Young India, 1-8-1929

182. ASSAM FLOOD

Here is the first report[1] from Sjt. Amritlal Thakkar on this flood. The money collected is being sent.

Young India, 1-8-1929

[1] Not reproduced here; the report narrated losses suffered in Cachar and Sylhet districts and requested for public funds for reconstruction of houses and supply of fodder for cattle.

183. *'THE CREATIVE DELIGHT'*

Under the above heading there appears in St. Berchmans' College Magazine a very readable and thought-provoking article[1] by Capt. A. R. Poduval of Cochin. Though for the pages of *Young India* it may be considered somewhat long, I have not had the courage to mutilate it. I present the reader with the whole of Capt. Poduval's article in the hope that it will bring converts to the great cause of *Daridranarayana.*

Young India, 1-8-1929

184. *BOMBAY MILK SUPPLY*

Sjt. Nagindas Amulakhrai, the milk enthusiast, continues his well-thought-out agitation for procuring a cheaper and purer milk supply for Bombay. He has drawn up a memorandum showing that if the railway company would adopt a reasonable and responsive attitude it can very materially help cheaper production, i.e., by reducing the freight for milk and supplying cheap facilities for carrying milk from the suburban stations to Bombay. He says[2] that it is owing to bad freight policy

> that places between Palghar (58 miles) and Bulsar (125 miles), although fully grass areas, . . . have no dairies started for milk supply to Bombay; that suppliers of milk in bulk have no alternative but to keep themselves and their buffaloes (16,003) confined in the stables (96) in the heart of the city in very unnatural conditions where there is no grazing area and the rent for accommodation of each buffalo in the stable is Rs. 9 or Rs. 10 per month resulting in a distinct additional loss at the rate of Rs. 240 per each of the 12 buffaloes that go dry every month after the lactation period out of a lot of 100 buffaloes in milk; and that the milk production from more than 26,000 buffaloes and supply thereof from year to year is being entirely stopped though they would again come into calf and produce milk to the same extent as before within a very short time if not slaughtered and wasted.

[1] Not reproduced here. The writer had expatiated on the 'creative delight' in labouring with one's own hands to produce things for personal use and referred to spinning and the wheel in this connection.

[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

He contends that

> . . . Bombay milk rate is the maximum in the world. It is much dearer than in New York and London. It is 50% dearer even than in Calcutta. . . The result is the highest infant mortality of the poor of Bombay and nearly total extinction of the best breed of buffaloes . . .

I understand that a Joint Committee consisting of a sub-committee of the Railway Local Advisory Board and a certain number of the members of the Bombay Corporation has been brought into being to consider this question. The question of cheap and pure milk supply for Bombay is a vital question. It affects the health of the inhabitants and especially the babies of 'the first city' of India. The humanitarian and the economic aspects are no less important. It is to be hoped therefore that the Joint Committee will present a solution that will enable suburban dairies to thrive and simplify the question of removing the cattle stables from the heart of the city.

Young India, 1-8-1929

185. LAKSHMI DEVI'S STORY

I have received many letters in connection with the letter of Lakshmi Devi's, which I published earlier.[1] One of them is from the young man she was married to. The young man's name is Madan Mohan Sharma. He is studying in a college. Shri Madan Mohan Sharma writes:[2]

All the other letters I have received tend to support Shri Madan Mohan Sharma's statement. Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya has looked into the matter personally. He has also written to me. I have also read an article he wrote on this subject in *Tyagbhumi*. Shri Haribhau's letter[3] is before me just now. I feel that he has given sound advice to both the parties.

I don't know which of the two statements is to be believed. If the facts stated by Shri Madan Mohan are true then Lakshmi Devi has erred greatly. And if her statement is true, then I will stick to the views I have expressed earlier. Shri Madan Mohan has written other letters too and he swears that he has neither suppressed nor fabricated anything. He has also asked me to look into

[1] *Vide* pp. 160-1.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had denied the allegations Lakshmi Devi had made against him and charged her with lying.

[3] For Gandhiji's reply to this, *vide* p. 237.

this matter. Bhai Haribhau Upadhyaya is a fellow-worker and I have full faith in him. He has clearly written that he thinks both the parties have suppressed some of the facts. In that case it would be difficult to unearth the truth. I would advise Shri Madan Mohan Sharma to tell Haribhauji whatever else he wishes to add on the matter and remove his doubts.

I have also been told that I have done injustice to Shri Madan Mohan by publishing Lakshmi Devi's letter and have thereby promoted the cause of untruth. I, however, feel I have served the truth as well as both the parties by publishing Lakshmi Devi's letter. Men are quite often unjust to women. For most of such women their misery ends only with their death. If Lakshmi Devi has been untruthful, then undoubtedly she has harmed her sex. But if I had not published her letter then this chance of exposing the untruth would have never occurred. What I said in my remarks on her letter can help her only if she is truthful, not if she is untruthful. My advice was given on the assumption that she had written the truth. If Lakshmi Devi has been truthful then it is up to her to come forward boldly and prove her innocence. But if she has been untruthful she should admit it and atone for her sin. Many charges have been made against her in the letters I have received. Only truth, purity and steadfastness can save Lakshmi Devi.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 1-8-1929

186. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 1, 192[*9*][1]

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

I have your letter. Ramanama is a matter of faith not of the intellect. And if one thinks of discontinuing it if it fails to bring one peace, this is as good as losing one's faith. Whether or not one gets peace from it, whether one feels happy or unhappy, one ought to keep up the repetition in the faith that Ramanama alone is real. One should never accept defeat.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 201

[1] From the G. N. Register

187. SPEECH AT TILAK'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY, GUJARAT VIDYAPITH

[*August 2, 1929*][1]

This is what I understand your question to mean: to what extent does Tilak Maharaj's life reflect the belief that tit for tat was his principle? We shall not be able to gain much from pursuing this question. But I had a brief correspondence on this subject with Tilak Maharaj.[2] As a humble student of his life and an admirer of his virtues, I can say that he had a sense of humour. *Vinod* means humour. Since we have not begun to use the word *vinod* in that sense, I have to use the English word in order to make myself clear. If the Lokamanya did not have that sense of humour, he would have gone crazy—he carried such a great national burden. But by this gift he used to save himself as also others from difficult situations. Another characteristic of his was that, while arguing with anyone, he deliberately used to indulge in exaggeration. I do not fully remember the correspondence I had with him on this subject; you may go through it. Tit for tat was not the guiding principle of Tilak Maharaj's life; if it were, he would not have gained so much popularity. I do not know of a single instance in the world of any man having based his life on that principle and become popular. It is true that in this regard he did not venture as far as I go — that we just cannot employ deceit against a deceiver. True, there is to be found some support for this in one or two places in the *Gita Rahasya* — in one or two places only. He indeed held that in the national interest the principle of tit for tat could be used if necessary. But he also truly believed that to employ truth alone against a rogue was the correct principle; but he used to say that only saints could implement this principle. According to Tilak Maharaj's definition a '*sadhu*' does not mean a '*vairagi*', but one who stays away from the world, he who does not participate in worldly affairs. He believed that, remaining in the world, anyone might be able to observe it, but if he could not do so, he had a right to have recourse to the other thing, that is, to employ deceit.

[1] From *Prajabandhu*, 4-8-1929

[2] *Vide* Vol. XVI, pp. 490-1.

However, if we have any right to evaluate the life of such a great man, let us not do it on such controversial points. His life is a rich legacy to India, to the world. That will be evaluated fully hereafter. That will be done by history, and only by history. The greatness of a living person can never be fully measured by his contemporaries; they cannot help being partial because it is only those with likes and dislikes that sit in judgment. Truly speaking, even historians are not free from it. Gibbon has been regarded as an *honest* historian; nevertheless I can perceive his partiality on page after page. Much of his writing is likely to have been influenced by his love or hate of certain individuals or institutions. There is a special likelihood of contemporaries being guilty of partiality. The best use we can make of the Lokamanya's noble life is that we recall the permanent principles in it and follow them.

Tilak Maharaj's patriotism was inexhaustible. Along with it he had a keen sense of justice. I came to know it quite by chance. He had attended the literary conference held at the time of the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1917. How could he find time from the work of the Congress? Nevertheless, he had come, delivered a speech and gone away. I could perceive his love for Hindi, the national language, at that time. But I saw a greater thing than that and that was his just and fair attitude towards Englishmen. Indeed, he began his speech in this way: "I criticize the British Government a lot. But we cannot forget the services rendered to our language by English scholars." Half his speech was full of this theme. And he said that, if we want to cultivate and develop the national language, we would have to toil and study as much as the English scholars had done. If we have been able to preserve our script, if our grammar has got standardized, English scholars have played a large part in it. The early missionaries who arrived here had a great love for the new language. Is Taylor's *Gujarati Grammar* an ordinary achievement? It did not bother Tilak Maharaj at all that his popularity might diminish if he praised the English. The people expected him only to blame the English.

We cannot show even a hundredth or a thousandth part of the spirit of sacrifice that Tilak Maharaj had in him. And what of his simplicity? No furniture or any other decoration was to be found in his apartment. A stranger would not feel that this was the residence of some big man. Let us emulate his innate simplicity. Similar was his patience. He would remain steadfast and go on doing his duty and never neglect it. Even when he got

news of his wife's death, his pen did not pause.[1] We wish to enjoy great luxuries and to win swaraj. These are contradictory things. In this age, hypocrisy, irresponsibility and self-willed conduct are rampant. If we wish to win swaraj, self-control should be our motto, capricious conduct never. Can we point out a single moment in his life when he had spent it in enjoyment? He had infinite patience. Hence he could take work from the worst of men. A leader *of men* ought to have this capacity. That does not do harm. If we are so particular that we will not take work from any given person, we should either repair to the forest or sit at home leading a householder's life, provided we keep ourselves aloof.

We should not content ourselves with mere praises of Tilak Maharaj. Our principle should be work, work and work. At a time when we wish to win swaraj, we should not indulge in useless reading or thinking but utilize every moment towards work for swaraj. You may ask, should that work be done at the cost of studies? In 1921 also, I had the same argument with students. What did Tilak Maharaj do? He wrote great books, not outside but inside the jail. It was only in jail that he could write the *Gita Rahasya* and the *Arctic Home.* He sacrificed his capacity for writing great and original books for the sake of his country. He thought to himself: this house is on fire; let me do my best to put out the fire. If he emptied a thousand buckets of water, let us pour at least one. Education and other things are necessary, but they are secondary. If they can be used for the work of swaraj we should do so, else we should let them rust. Therein neither we nor the world stands to lose.

Tilak Maharaj accomplished this in his life. There is so much to learn from his life, so great is his legacy to us, that there is no room for the question which was asked at the outset. It is our dharma to pick up virtues.

The work that has to be accomplished at the present moment cannot be done by slack persons. The work of swaraj is difficult. The atmosphere that exists in India today is such that we deliver speeches, we behave in a disorderly manner, we perpetrate violence, we somehow enter some associations and wreck them,

[1] A footnote in *Navajivan* says: I cannot but recall another more wonderful event. The Lokamanya had gone to Raigadh, Shivaji's capital, to inaugurate celebrations in honour of Shivaji. He had to depart, leaving his eldest son who was lying seriously ill at home. No sooner did he reach Raigadh than a telegram arrived. He straightway put it into his pocket and only after completing the celebrations did he read it.

we enter legislatures and make speeches there. We do not find this in Tilak Maharaj's life. What we have to learn therefrom is the virtues I have mentioned. If you do that, it will be worth your while to study at the national Vidyapith; otherwise the money spent on you would be a waste. If we do not do our duty, despite the speeches which have been made and the essays read out by students, we shall remain where we were and we would have only wasted a couple of hours. Let not this happen!

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-8-1929

188. OUR SCHOOL[1]

I have published the delectable description[2] of the Raniparaj School of Vedchhi given above just as it was received by me without the alteration of a single syllable. The reader will find some obvious grammatical mistakes in it which I have deliberately allowed to remain. Manual training is naturally given a place of honour in this institution. The three R's are taught not as a task but recreation. The artistic mind of Sjt. Jugatram[3] is clearly in evidence in all this. We may not all be able to emulate his consummate art. But if we can only emulate his overflowing love, we can dot the country with such model tiny institutions, and give to our teeming agricultural population just the sort of education which it so sorely needs to alleviate its condition. This institution inculcates culture, character, a knowledge of the rules of hygiene and sanitation, self-help and love of freedom. Let no one delude himself with the idea that such an institution can be good enough only for the Raniparaj children, but not for the children of the wealthy and the well-to-do. It can be easily shown that Raniparaj boys would feel smothered in our present-day schools for the children of millionaires. And what is smothering to the Raniparaj children cannot be uplifting for the rest. On the other hand if the children of the millionaires attended the Raniparaj School of Vedchhi, it would enable them to breathe the pure, life-giving ozone of robust nationalism, and learn the

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 4-8-1929. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

[2] Not reproduced here

[3] Jugatram Dave, one of the tutors in the school

dignity of labour — a privilege which they sorely lack at present and might well envy.

Young India, 5-9-1929

189. STATEMENT ON FUNDS COLLECTED IN BURMA

A brief statement on the funds collected during the tour of Burma, prepared by the secretary of the Udyoga Mandir, is given above.[1] The figures for all towns along with their names have been received from Rangoon. It is not necessary to give them here. However, if anyone wishes to see these, he can approach Shri Nanalal. Needless to say, funds have been sent to all the institutions for which they were received.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-8-1929

190. MY NOTES

Two Children's Sacrificial Offering

Chandan and Krishnavijay are sister and brother. Their mother is a widow. She is well-to-do, but has faith in khadi. Her entire family of six persons spins all the yarn that it needs. At the end of the year, some khadi is left over. All the children are studying. The two elder girls are studying at the Vinaya Mandir. Chandan is aged five, while Krishnavijay is six. Both these children spin of their own free will. No sort of pressure is applied; they spin simply because they see others doing so.

I have just seen a bolt of khadi prepared from the yarn spun by these two children and this deepened my conviction about the potential strength of hand-spun yarn. The yarn spun by them is of 5 to 6 counts. The entire bolt weighs five and a quarter pounds. Its length is 12 ft. 3 inches, its width is 33 inches and the count for the warp yarn is seven. I do not regard this as something ordinary. The reader may try and figure out the strength of that khadi which can be produced so easily. The mother, the uncle and the elder girls spin very fine and beautiful yarn. Let no one conclude that this family uses clothes sparingly. The children are as well and fully clad as those of any respectable well-to-do family. They use enough bed-covers, sheets, etc.

[1] The statement is not translated here.

Hence the example of this family is applicable to all middle-class families. The only distinguishing feature is that the family loves khadi and the uncle, who is the guardian of the family, has through his own love made all the members devoted to the cause of khadi. If all those who are dedicated to swaraj also dedicate themselves to the cause of khadi, we can boycott foreign cloth today sitting in our homes and if that boycott can be realized, the people will acquire new vigour and self-confidence. All children can follow the example of these children. Will parents inspire them to do so?

To the Person Who Is Ashamed to Reveal His Name

You will not free yourself from guilt so long as you remain anonymous through shame. You should not regard the offence as a disease or try to conceal it from others. On the contrary, making it public will bring about a sense of shame and this in turn will help you in washing off guilt. So long as you have a false sense of shame, I regard your reading of the Upanishads too as something futile. The real disgrace consists in committing the offence. In trying to shield it, one is doubly guilty.

A Correction

With reference to my article[1] regarding the services rendered in Orissa by Shri Jivram Kalyanji, the said gentleman writes:[2]

Despite Shri Jivram's desire not to publish this correction, I have felt it necessary to print it. This merely shows his honesty and sincerity. He does not wish to accept the credit which I gave him erroneously. For my benefit, he also wished to do away with the objection — that wealth was being accumulated at the cost of labourers — which lay behind the credit I gave him. Both grounds are genuine. It is not relevant to our subject-matter whether those who gather *hardai* can be regarded as labourers and whether trading in that which is obtained through their efforts may be regarded as earnings derived from their labour. The reader has merely to know from this that my belief that Jivram went to Utkal with a view to making money through the labour of others whom he underpaid was an erroneous one. It is sufficient

[1] *Vide* pp. 167-9.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The writer had stated that contrary to Gandhiji's impression, labourers were not exploited by voluntary workers but helped as the *hardai* (myrobalans) picked by them in the forests was purchased by merchants from Europe; and that there were other dedicated workers in the field besides himself, so that all the credit could not be given to him.

for me and the reader to know that the sentiment which actually prompted him to go there was also a pure one. That Shri Maganbhai is not a householder but a *brahmachari* is his special distinction.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 4-8-1929

191. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 4, 1929

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I got your letter. The restriction placed by the Conference does not prevent one from being appointed member of the executive committee or some other body of the Conference in any State. But I am very doubtful if in the present circumstances any State in Kathiawar would appoint a citizen of another State in this manner. It would be unbearable if you offer your name and it is rejected. If, therefore, Jamnadas can assure you that your name will be accepted, I see no objection to your getting yourself appointed. But I see no benefit either. Even from a practical point of view, it would be wise not to entertain such a thought at all. Having taken one step, you will not know where to stop. I am, however, ready to concede that you and others who are familiar with the local conditions, would know more about the whole matter. You need not, therefore, pay serious attention to this advice.

This time you must be made to change what has become a regular habit with you. I had never thought that I would have to attend the Conference on the dates fixed. All my time is booked. Do present an address to Jawaharlal. But it is not proper that it should be presented by me. My presenting it would look as appropriate as a father presenting an address to a son! I had a letter today from Jawaharlal in which he says that in case his wife had to be immediately operated upon he might not even attend the Conference. He is known to be very scrupulous about keeping a promise once made. If, however, unforeseen circumstances arise, like the possibility mentioned above, even the strength of a strong man avails him nothing. Let us hope that no such difficulty will arise.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this letter.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5718

192. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

SABARMATI,
August 5, 1929

DEAR MR. JAYAKAR,

It was an unexpected delight to receive your letter accompanying the gift of your yarn. It reminded me of the good old days. I hope you will continue to send such reminders. Every yard of yarn you will spin will be so much addition to the country's wealth. And your addition will be infective.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Jayakar's Private Papers, Correspondence: File No. 407-VI. Courtesy: National Archives of India

193. NOTE TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[*August 5, 1929*][1]

Do what you can for this man. I shall of course be pleased if you could accommodate him. It is however for you to consider whether he is sincerely repentant.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15815

[1] This note in Gandhiji's hand is written on a letter from Jethalal Virji in which the latter denies having misconstrued Chhaganlal's letter. A note to the effect that a letter from Jethalal Virji has been replied to on August 5, 1929 appears on the latter's letter to Chhaganlal Joshi.

194. LETTER TO BANARASIDAS CHATURVEDI

August 5, 1929

BHAI BANARASIDAS,

I have your letter. I have gone through the article in *Maharatta*. I think that we should not write anything about it. I am sure that it will produce no impact in the West. Even if it does our reply will only make matters worse. Public servants will always be subject to such attacks. Deenabandhu[1] will certainly write to me if any action is necessary.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SHRI BANARASIDAS CHATURVEDI
91 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2556

195. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

August 6, 1929

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter and cheque[2]; the receipt is enclosed herewith.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4715-B. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

[1] C. F. Andrews
[2] For Rs. 100 for the Assam Relief Fund

196. TELEGRAM TO PRAFULLA CHANDRA GHOSH[1]

[On or after *August 6, 1929*]

PLEASE SEE AMRITLAL THAKKAR SILCHAR.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15449

197. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

August 7, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I do not like the title "Dawn of History". "A Father's Letters to His Daughter" may be a better title than "Letters to Indira", though I do not mind the latter.

I wish Kamala would be freed from these recurring pains. I should risk the operation, if the doctors would perform it.

I am keeping the clock under lock and key and shall bring it on my coming there.

I go to Bombay on the 11th to meet Jinnah. I admire Sarojini Devi's optimism. But I am going to Bombay without[2] much hope.

Yours,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] In reply to his telegram of August 5 from Comilla received at Sabarmati on August 6, which read: "Starting spinning in relief area. Solicit arrange give us ten thousand or as much as possible for same from your relief fund."

[2] The source has "with".

198. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 7, 1929

BHAI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your postcard. It is good that you dropped the idea of having yourself appointed to the Committee.

Either Revashankerbhai or Durbar Saheb should present the address to Jawaharlal. I believe Durbar Saheb will be attending. Vallabhbhai would be in Madras Presidency.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5697

199. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 7, 1929

BHAISHRI,

I have your letter. May your efforts bear fruit. Please excuse me for my ignorance. Who are there on the Tariff Board? What are the powers allotted to them?

The Congress does not at present have the experts you expect it to have. It is a matter of regret that the intellectual wing of the Congress has weakened with the widening of its base. Maybe this was inevitable during the transitional period. Students of European economics, shaped according to the Government's model, could not appreciate the organization's rural bias, could not attune themselves to it, could not make the necessary sacrifices and therefore left it. But for this divorce we could have had the custody of our house long before now. In spite of the unstable position of the Congress I want you to explain your requirements more clearly and furnish me with the necessary information so that I may do all that I can. Importing salt is as preposterous as importing water. But, indeed, is there any limit to our absurdities? Despite producing, enough cotton at home we import about a hundred crore rupees worth of cloth. What is a crore and a half rupees of

salt in comparison with this? But this is a digression. Please therefore regard as enough what I have written above.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: Purushottamdas Thakurdas Papers, File No. 89/1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

200. LETTER TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

[*August 7, 1929*][1]

BHAISAHEB,

A newspaper by the name of *Brahman Maha Sammelan* is issued from Kashi. It proclaims itself the defender of sanatana dharma. It often publishes some very vicious attacks on Maharshi Dayanand Swami. The Arya Samajist papers have criticized it very much. Can't you do something to stop publication of such writings?

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

BHARAT BHOOSHAN PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYAJI
UNIVERSITY, BANARAS CITY

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8683

201. NOTES

VACCINATION

Anti-vaccination enthusiasts rate me for having said that vaccination confers "a sort of temporary immunity from small-pox".[2] The correspondents ignore the phrase "a sort of" and repudiate my claim to describe myself as an anti-vaccinationist. I would urge my enthusiastic friends to appreciate the fact that a person may be a good anti-vaccinationist although he may believe in a sort of temporary immunity provided that he renounces the benefit of such immunity. For myself I do not believe in

[1] From the postmark
[2] *Vide* pp. 191-2.

vaccination giving any real immunity temporary or otherwise. It gives a seeming immunity because those who submit to the unclean process in numerous cases believe that they have escaped smallpox because they see some of their neighbours getting it. Who can persuade these fear-stricken men that even without vaccination they might have escaped the infection like the rest of their numerous unvaccinated neighbours? In my note I merely mentioned a psychological fact. Anti-vaccinationists will ensure reform in tolerably good time, if they will be absolutely accurate about their facts, take due account of popular prejudices and fears and patiently cultivate public opinion against *compulsory* vaccination. But for the apathy in such matters of educated India there would never be compulsion in a matter in which respectable medical opinion favours the reformer's view and statistics exist which at least make out a reasonable case against compulsion. I can understand my compulsory segregation if my neighbours fear infection from me, but I cannot understand my being compelled to undergo an operation against which I have a religious or hygienic objection. A community has a right to protect itself from me but it has no right to impose an obligation on me merely for my protection. The essence of my freedom consists in my right to err so long as my error endangers no one else.

A Patriot's Death

A correspondent writes:[1]

> I am sure it will cause you genuine grief to know that L. Banke Dyal, editor of *Weekly Jhang Sial* and selfless Congress worker in the Punjab, is no more. . . . he acted as your Private Secretary to collect and sift evidence in certain villages of the Punjab in connection with the Congress Committee report regarding martial law atrocities. . . . Banke Dyal lived a life of poverty and even starvation. . . . Could you possibly stir up the Punjab Congress or Indian philanthropists to do something to relieve the misery of his dependants?

I have a vivid recollection of Lala Banke Dyal when I was in the Punjab in connection with the Martial Law Congress Inquiry, and can bear out what the correspondent says about his services. I tender my condolences to the family of the deceased. There is no doubt that it is the duty of moneyed Congressmen in the Punjab to investigate the condition of the family and make whatever provision may be necessary. All genuine patriotic workers should be able to feel that their true service is the surest insurance for their

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

legitimate survivors. And relief should always be local. There is something wrong when the family of a patriot in Karachi has to be supported from Dibrugarh.

FOR A.I.S.A. DEFAULTERS

The Secretary, A.I.S.A., complains that many members are anxious to retain their membership but they are not prompt in complying with the rules. In spite of extension, several have failed to send in their yarn and ask for further indulgence. I have reluctantly authorized the Secretary to extend the time till 21st instant when the Council meets. But an organization weakens if its members continuously seek indulgence. I know that procrastination among members is the bane of most institutions. But an association which seeks to serve individually three hundred million men and women cannot afford to be lax regarding the observance of terms of membership. Nor is the condition severe *if* the members will spin *regularly*. Many allow arrears to accumulate and then fancy that they will be able to make up by giving many hours at a stretch. Unfortunately for them those many hours never come and they find themselves in default. Regular spinning for half an hour daily is no strain and it should be a joy to be able to renew from day to day through the wheel a vital contact with the millions of paupers. I hope that the members will realize the truth of my remark and hasten to make up for arrears and make a promise to themselves never again to fall into arrears.

Young India, 8-8-1929

202. INCURABLE

Having read carefully the Governor's speech and the Revenue Member's on the proposed Land Revenue legislation and thereanent on the Bardoli Inquiry report, the conclusion forces itself upon me that the Government is incurable. The Bombay Government has accepted the Committee's report as it were at the point of the sword. It knows full well that rejection of the report would mean a resuscitation of the whole agitation in a much more serious form than before. There is no grace or dignity about the acceptance. Indeed the Revenue Member had the hardihood to say that the Government had accepted the report in order to close the matter though it could draw conclusions just the opposite of what Messrs Broomfield and Maxwell had drawn on the data collected and accepted by them. There is not one word of regret for the

many acts of oppression committed by the officials or for the gross errors of Settlement officers which cost the people a protracted struggle involving terrible hardships. In the teeth of published letters of the ex-Governor, the Revenue Member dares to suggest that the inquiry was granted not under pressure but because there were definite allegations about the settlement being unlawful and the assessment being based on erroneous figures. He forgets that the ex-Governor had repudiated these charges and defended the settlement with unbecoming energy and had with equally unbecoming rashness prophesied that if an inquiry was granted the finding would show a higher figure.

The speeches make it abundantly clear that the Government does not believe in doing justice for its own sake. In important matters affecting its existence, it will yield only to pressure which if successfully exerted would place its existence in greater jeopardy than the justice demanded would. Thus it yielded to the Bardoli agitation because its pressure had become more dangerous for its existence than the reluctant grant of barest justice.

But the niggardly justice done to Bardoli has involved embarrassing implications. It has now been obliged to announce that it will bring in a revenue bill at an early date in order to obviate in future the errors discovered by Messrs Broomfield and Maxwell. But the faint outline given of the forthcoming bill by the Revenue Member need not enthuse us. It is much to be feared that the legislation will promise to the ear what it will break to the hope. All the public collection and preservation of statistics will be of no avail, if the method of assessment is not radically altered and the decisions of Settlement officers are not made appealable in courts of law. To do this, the Government knows, means a tremendous loss of revenue. And an appreciable loss of revenue means a revolutionary reform in administration. For this the two speeches referred to give no hope whatsoever.

Here then is work cut out for Sardar Vallabhbhai and his newly-formed League. It has had an auspicious beginning. It represents all shades of opinion. All its resources will be taxed in seeing that the promised legislation gives the radical relief needed by a people groaning under the weight of a tax their holdings can ill afford to sustain. Absence of graceful and frank confession by the Government of the Bardoli blunder gives no hope of true reform being made without adequate, intelligent, well-informed and forcible agitation.

Yonng India, 8-8-1929

203. MAHARASHTRA KHADI SANGHA

Maharashtra Khadi Sangha is one of the most efficient and methodical khadi organizations in the country. No wonder, seeing that it has Sjt. Shankarrao S. Dev of Dhulia as its head. I take the following[1] from the interesting report sent by the Sangha to the Secretary of the A.I.S.A.

> The workers undertook lecturing tours and visited principal towns in their respective divisions. . . . During these visits members in charge obtained signatures of persons who had already taken the vow or who took it newly of wearing khadi habitually and also of persons who promised to purchase khadi worth at least ten rupees per year. . . . at present nearly 4,000 people. . . . are habitual khadi-wearers. The movement of khadi in Maharashtra has undoubtedly passed through the first three stages of contempt, ridicule and indifference and has now reached the stage of active appreciation.

I hope that it will be possible for the Council to make the grant required. I would urge the Sangha to concentrate its energies in production along all the three lines often indicated in these pages, viz.,

1. self-spinning,
2. sacrificial spinning, and
3. spinning for wages by the semi-starved and partially idle.

The Sangha should have a map showing the places where the people are living in a state of semi-starvation and have idle hours during which they can card and spin in their own cottages. Needless to say that this work can be done only if the members of the Sangha know carding and spinning and can attend to simple repairs and adjustments.

Young India, 8-8-1929

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

The interest evinced in my experiment in unfired food and the testimony received in support are truly remarkable. Some correspondents even send their experiences for publication. But I refrain. I have found among enthusiasts a tendency towards exaggeration. They often build their conclusions on insufficient data or see a connection between a result and their experiment not warranted by actuality. Whilst therefore these experiences are very helpful to me, as I am able to check them by my own, I am chary of sending them out as a guide to fellow seekers. I therefore propose periodically to give the verified results of my own experiences and observation coupled with the caution that even they are liable to variation. I have found after prolonged experiment and observation that there is no fixed dietetic rule for all constitutions. All that the wisest physicians claim for their advice is that it is likely to benefit in a given case as in a majority of cases they have found it to answer fairly well. In no branch of science is the scientist so hampered in his research as in the medical. He dare not speak with certainty of the effect of a single drug or food or of the reactions of human bodies. It is and will always remain empirical. The popular saying that one man's food may be another's poison is based on vast experience which finds daily verification. Such being the case, the field for experiment on the part of intelligent men and women is limitless. Laymen ought to acquire a workable knowledge of the body which plays such an important part in the evolution of the soul within. And yet about nothing are we so woefully negligent or ignorant as in regard to our bodies. Instead of using the body as a temple of God we use it as a vehicle for indulgences, and are not ashamed to run to medical men for help in our effort to increase them and abuse the earthly tabernacle.

But now for noting the results to date:

1. There are now twenty-two in the Mandir making the experiment with me. Most of them have given up milk.

2. They are now having bananas added to their diet and the quantity of cocoanut taken has been increased.

3. It can be stated with tolerable confidence that when milk is retained there is no danger of weakness or any other untoward result.

4. There is no difficulty about digesting uncooked sprouted grains and pulses and uncooked green vegetables,

5. Cases of constipation have in most cases yielded to the elimination of grains and pulses and a liberal use of cocoanut milk and green vegetables such as *dudhi* (marrow), pumpkin, cucumber, etc., all taken with their skins well washed. Cocoanut milk is prepared by grating an undried cocoanut fine and mixing it with its own or other clean water and straining and pressing through a stout cloth. A whole cocoanut may be thus taken without the slightest injury or discomfort.

6. In the majority of cases weight has been lost, but the medical authorities who favour unfired food assert that the loss of weight is a healthy reaction up to a point and is a sign of the body throwing off poisonous matter.

7. The majority still experience weakness but persist in their experiment, believing in the above-mentioned authorities that weakness is an intermediate stage in this experiment. There is no doubt that the stomach which has undergone distension through overfeeding with starchy and fatty foods feels an emptiness till it resumes its natural size.

8. The experiment is not an easy thing nor does it yield magical results. It requires patience, perseverance and caution. Each one has to find his or her own balance of the different ingredients.

9. Almost every one of us has experienced a clearer brain power and refreshing calmness of spirit.

10. Many have found the experiment as a decided help in allaying animal passion.

11. Too much stress cannot be laid on the imperative necessity of thorough mastication. I observe that even many of the careful inmates do not know the art of mastication and have therefore bad teeth and spongy gums. A few days of hard and conscientious chewing of the cocoanut and green vegetable has brought about wonderful results in this direction.

Several physicians are taking an interest in my experiment. They send me texts from Ayurvedic writings for or against the articles I have been using. Two or three have sent me the identical text against taking honey mixed with hot water and pronouncing dire results. When I ask them whether they have verified the text from their own experience they are silent. My own experience of taking honey mixed with hot water extends to more than four years. I have experienced no ill effect whatsoever. Objection has also been raised against the use of honey on humanitarian grounds. This objection has, I admit, considerable force though the Western method of gathering honey is cleaner and less open to objection.

I fear that if I would be strictly logical I should have to cut down many things I take or use. But life is not governed by strict logic. It is an organic growth, seemingly irregular growth following its own law and logic. I began taking honey in Yeravda Jail under medical advice. I am not sure that its use is now necessary for me. Western doctors bestow high praise upon it. Most of them who condemn the use of sugar in unmeasured terms speak highly of honey which they say does not irritate as refined sugar or even *gur* does. I do not want to weaken my present experiment by abjuring honey just now. The humanitarian aspect will be infinitely more served, if the unfired food experiment succeeds beyond doubt.

Another physician quotes a text against the use of sprouted pulses but he too lacks actual experience for supporting his text. And this has been my complaint against many Ayurvedic physicians. I have no doubt that there is abundant ancient wisdom buried in the Sanskrit medical works. Our physicians appear to be too lazy to unearth that wisdom in the real sense of the term. They are satisfied with merely repeating the printed formula. Even as a layman I know many virtues are claimed for several Ayurvedic preparations. But where is their use, if they cannot be demonstrated today? I plead, for the sake of this ancient science, for a spirit of genuine search among our Ayurvedic physicians. I am as anxious as the tallest among them can be to free ourselves from the tyranny of Western medicines which are ruinously expensive and the preparation of which takes no count of the higher humanities.

Young India, 8-8-1929

205. PROHIBITION CAMPAIGN[1]

TO

THE EDITOR, "YOUNG INDIA"

SIR,

Surely Mr. Rajagopalachari's scheme on p. 112 of your issue for the 4th April is inconsistent with Mr. Gandhi's dogma of non-violence. Prohibition is force, and force is no remedy for anything, least of all for intemperance, especially among those who repudiate the use of force (violence) in any shape. 'Non-violent' prohibition is self-contradictory. Could one frame a section of the Penal Code to the effect that anyone drinking

[1] This appeared under the title "Correspondence".

a glass of toddy (or beer) in his own house shall be liable to fine or imprisonment? I am altogether in favour of real temperance, but equally opposed to tyranny, and the prohibition of moderate (quite temperate) drinking is nothing but tyranny.

Yours truly,

May 6, 1929 J. B. PENNINGTON

I am unable to subscribe to the opinion that prohibition is always force. If I prohibit my children from doing some wrong and for a breach of that prohibition I punish not them but myself either by fasting or otherwise as I have often done with excellent results, I use no force in Mr. Pennington's sense. I use the force, that is to say, not of the body but of the spirit, not of the brute but of love. But I am free to confess that Sjt. Rajagopalachari's prohibition is not spiritual but physical, not lovely [*sic*] but brutal, nevertheless I must plead guilty to having endorsed it. Unfortunately for me I have to confess that my non-violence is very imperfect, inconsistent and primitive. Only, it is still miles ahead of what Mr. Pennington is likely to conceive. I hold drinking spirituous liquors in India to be more criminal than the petty thefts which I see starving men and women committing and for which they are prosecuted and punished. I do tolerate very unwillingly, it is true, and helplessly because of want of full realization of the law of love, a moderate system of penal code. And so long as I do, I must advocate the summary punishment of those who manufacture the fiery liquid and those even who will persist in drinking it notwithstanding repeated warnings. I do not hesitate forcibly to prevent my children from rushing into fire, or deep waters. Rushing to wine is far more dangerous than rushing to a raging furnace or flooded stream. The latter destroys only the body, the former destroys both body and soul.

Young India, 8-8-1929

206. *ADHARMA IN THE NAME OF SANATANA DHARMA*

These days as I write often for *Hindi Navajivan*, relevant extracts from Hindi papers which are worthy of my consideration are brought to my notice. I have today two newspapers before me: one of the Arya Samajists and the other of the Sanatanists. The Sanatanists' paper carries a rude, indecent and obscenely-worded denunciation of Maharshi Dayanand. The language used and the charges levelled against Swamiji are of a kind that do not become a religious paper and a responsible paper. I do not know if the paper enjoys any influence among the people. I hope nobody pays attention to it.

I fear that the attack on Swamiji has been made out of some selfish motive. That is why it is so barbarous and untruthful. I would not be surprised if it turns out to have been written by a member of the C.I.D. There would seem to be no other justification for such a vicious attack.

It is the duty of the Hindu Mahasabha to stop the publication of such dirty papers. I would request the Arya Samajists not to read such papers and even if they do, not to be angry. They should not even discuss them in their papers. Writers with unclean minds are avid for opposition for they feed on such opposition. Swami Dayanand had such a noble character and his services were so great that selfish and ignorant writers can cause him no harm. If the Arya Samajists will exercise a little patience the publication of such filthy writings will cease automatically. When there is no one to comment on such writings or take note of them, this publication will stop of its own accord.[1]

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 8-8-1929

[1] *Vide* also p. 258.

207. A HUSBAND'S DUTY

A friend writes:[1]

Husbands are always eager to read sermons to their wives. Wives are even told to consider themselves the husband's property. The husband feels that he has the same proprietary rights over his wife as he has over his goods and chattels and livestock. To support this position they do not hesitate to quote from the *Ramayana*:

> Drums, fools, Shudras, beasts and women,
> All these are fit to be beaten.

These lines are considered to sanction chastisement of wives in our society. I am quite certain that this verse is not by Tulsidas. Even if it is one may be sure that it does not express Tulsidas's personal views but merely the prevailing social attitude. It is also possible that without giving the matter much thought he simply gave support to the prevailing social disposition. The *Ramayana* is a devotional poem written from the standpoint of a *bhakta*. Tulsidas did not write it in the capacity of a reformer. That is why he has drawn a realistic picture of his age and described it so naturally. Although his description is not without blemishes, this does not lessen the importance of this superb work. Just as one cannot expect the *Ramayana* to give us correct geographical information, in the same way we cannot expect it to propound for us the modern view. But we are straying from the subject. Whatever Tulsidas's view may have been about women there is no doubt that a man who treats his wife like an animal, who considers her as his property, cuts himself from his better half[2].

It is the duty of the husband to consider his wife a true companion, helper and his better half. He should share her joys and sorrows. A wife is never to be considered her husband's slave, nor merely meant to be the object of his lust. She has a right to the same freedoms which the husband wants for himself.

The culture in which women are not honoured is doomed. The world cannot go on without either the men or the women, it can go on only by their mutual co-operation. If the wrath of

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had mentioned a friend who was dissatisfied with his wife because in his opinion she was not a good housewife and wanted her to leave him. He had raised questions concerning the relative rights of husband and wife.

[2] The Hindi has *ardhanga*.

woman should be roused she could destroy man. That's why she has been considered *Mahashakti*.

Hindu culture has always respected women. They have always been given the pride of place. For instance, we say 'Sita Ram', never 'Ram Sita'. Vishnu is known 'Lakshmipati'. Mahadev is also worshipped as 'Parvatipati'. The creator of the *Mahabharata* gave the place of honour to Draupadi, as the *Adikavi*[1] Valmiki gave to Sita. We begin our day by reciting the sacred names of chaste women. A civilization so noble cannot bring the status of women down to the level of goods and chattels.

The questions are now easily answered. It is my firm belief that a wife has full right to her husband's earnings. She has an inalienable right to his property. It is the husband's duty to protect his wife and to do what he can to provide her food and clothing.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 8-8-1929

208. LETTER TO NAJUKLAL N. CHOKSI

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 8, 1929

BHAI NAJUKLAL,

I have your letter. At the moment I have nothing at hand for you. Meet Motibai's demand. When I have anything fit for you, I shall ask for you after giving you sufficient notice.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 12146

209. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 8, 1929

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI,

I have your letter. I enclose with this Jawaharlal's letter. It is a delicate matter.[1] Your reply, too, was not proper. You ought to have clearly stated that politics had been voluntarily excluded. You should have known that there would be agitation by the other party. And we should also admit that they have a right to carry on such agitation. Where there are differences of principle, we cannot close the mouth of our opponent. Now wait and see what happens. Your reply should have been simply: 'We have a difference of opinion with the person who has sent you the wire. It is not possible to explain anything in a wire or a letter. Our Committee, however, believes that after coming here you will feel satisfied.' Who will then say that your reply was an attack on the other party? There is nothing for it now but to wait and see what course events take.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised the letter.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5719

210. LETTER TO GORDHANBHAI I. PATEL[2]

August 8, 1929

BHAISHRI GORDHANBHAI[3],

Owing to pressure of work your letter escaped my attention. I remembered it last night. The final award could be given only

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru was to preside over the conference of the Youth League at Rajkot and some political worker in Saurashtra had sent a telegram to him which made him hesitate whether he should attend the conference.

[2] The letter was in reply to the addressee's letter dated 2-8-1929 in connection with the dispute between the Labour Union and the Mill-owners' Association, in which Gandhiji and Sheth Mangaldas had been appointed arbitrators.

[3] Secretary, Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association

in mutual consultation. My opinion however is that the petitioners have a right to add to or alter their petitions or to vary emphasis, etc.[1] The arbitrators have not yet considered whether or not they can go into the question of the propriety of the wage-cut in 1923.[2]

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14975

211. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

August 9, 1929

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

Your love letter. I am here the whole of August except next Sunday. So come when you can and like.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9609

212. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 10, 1929

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I have your letter. A reply has been sent to Jawaharlal. You must have come to know about the letter I wrote in this connection to Devchandbhai's address day before yesterday. Whatever Bhai Amritlal does, you are going to act with politeness and firmness.

I always get all manner of criticisms of the Parishad's working but I gulp them down; nor do I wish to worry you by referring them all to you. Let not however falsehood, pomp, pretence or excess come in anywhere. It is impossible for me to go over there. And I have already written who should present the address. I see nothing wrong if a person against whom a case is pending produces witnesses though he might have to pay them an allowance. He should not let himself be released on bail. A satyagrahi is tested

[1] The Labour Union by their letter dated 31-7-1929 had withdrawn their original contention that since 1923 the condition of the mills had improved sufficiently to warrant restoration of the cut in the workers' wages effected in 1923, and had argued instead that the cut was unjustified and should, therefore, be cancelled.

[2] For the arbitrators' award on the original issue, *vide* pp. 283-4. For Gandhiji's views on the new issue raised by the Labour Union, *vide* pp. 359-63.

also in a false case like this and gains heaven-sent experience. We gain or ought to learn a lesson which never even occurs to us. The aforesaid satyagrahi has checked his anger towards the shepherd. He can love the shepherd. If he cannot, he is no true satyagrahi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9190

213. THE EFFICACY OF VOWS[1]

A correspondent who seems to be a regular and careful reader of *Navajivan* writes:

> I spin regularly, but the question is whether or not I should bind myself to it by a vow. If I take a vow to spin regularly for one hour every day, I suppose I must do an hour's honest spinning unfailingly, come what may. Suppose now, having taken the vow I am required to go out on a long journey, how can I fulfil my vow about spinning? Or again, suppose I fall seriously ill, even then I must do my spinning, or else be guilty of breaking my vow before man and God. On the other hand if I do not take a vow, what guarantee is there that my resolution would not give way and betray me at a critical moment?
>
> You will perhaps say that one's resolution ought to be made of sterner stuff. But when even the acknowledged leaders of the country are seen hourly breaking their resolutions, what can one expect from the rank and file? What are lesser mortals like myself to do? Would you kindly resolve my dilemma?

Being accustomed from very childhood to taking vows I confess I have a strong bias in favour of the practice. It has come to my rescue in many a crisis; I have seen it save others from many a pitfall. A life without vows is like a ship without anchor or like an edifice that is built on slip-sand instead of a solid rock. A vow imparts stability, ballast and firmness to one's character. What reliance can be placed on a person who lacks these essential qualities? An agreement is nothing but a mutual interchange of vows; simultaneously one enters into a pledge when one gives one's word to another.

In old days, the word of mouth of illustrious persons was regarded as good as a bond. They concluded transactions involving

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 11-8-1929. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

millions by oral agreements. In fact our entire social fabric rests on the sanctity of the pledged word. The world would go to pieces if there was not this element of stability or finality in agreements arrived at. The Himalayas are immovably fixed for ever in their place. India would perish if the firmness of the Himalayas gave way. The sun, the moon and other heavenly bodies move with unerring regularity. Were it not so, human affairs would come to a standstill. But we know that the sun has been rising regularly at its fixed time for countless ages in the past and will continue to do so in future. The cooling orb of the moon will continue always to wax and wane as it has done for ages past with a clock-work regularity. That is why we call the sun and the moon to be witness to our affairs. We base our calendar on their movements, we regulate our time by their rising and setting.

The same law, which regulates these heavenly bodies, applies equally to men. A person unbound by vows can never be absolutely relied upon. It is overweening pride to say, 'This thing comes natural to me. Why should I bind myself permanently by vows? I can well take care of myself at the critical moment. Why should I take an absolute vow against wine? I never get drunk. Why should I forgo the pleasure of an occasional cup for nothing?' A person who argues like this will never be weaned from his addiction.

To shirk taking of vows betrays indecision and want of resolution. One never can achieve anything lasting in this world by being irresolute. For instance, what faith can you place in a general or a soldier who lacks resolution and determination, who says, 'I shall keep guard as long as I can'? A householder, whose watchman says that he would keep watch as long as he can, can never sleep in security. No general ever won a victory by following the principle of 'being vigilant so long as he could'.

I have before me innumerable examples of spinners at will. Every one of them has come to grief sooner or later. On the other hand, sacramental spinning has transformed the entire life of those who have taken to it; mountains of yarn stored up by them tell the tale. A vow is like a right angle. An insignificant right angle will make all the difference between ugliness and elegance, solidity and shakiness of a gigantic structure. Even so stability or instability, purity or otherwise of an entire career may depend upon the taking of a vow.

It goes without saying that moderation and sobriety are of the very essence of vow-taking. The taking of vows that are not feasible or that are beyond one's capacity would betray thoughtlessness and want of balance. Similarly a vow can be made conditional without

losing any of its efficacy or virtue. For instance there would be nothing wrong about taking a vow to spin for at least one hour every day and to turn out not less than 200 yards daily except when one is travelling or is sick. Such a vow would not only be quite in form but also easy of observance. The essence of a vow does not consist in the difficulty of its performance but in the determination behind it unflinchingly to stick to it in the teeth of difficulties.

Self-restraint is the very key-stone of the ethics of vow-taking. For instance, one cannot take a vow of self-indulgence, to eat, drink and be merry, in short, to do as one pleases. This warning is necessary because I know of instances when an attempt was made to cover things of questionable import by means of vows. In the heyday of non-co-operation one even heard the objection raised, 'How can I resign from Government service when I have made a covenant with it to serve it?' Or again, 'How can I close my liquor shop since I have bound myself by contract to run it for five years?' Such questions might appear puzzling sometimes. But on closer thinking it will be seen that a vow can never be used to support or justify an immoral action. A vow must lead one upwards, never downwards towards perdition.

The correspondent has concluded by having a fling at the 'acknowledged leaders' of the country and cited their so-called fickleness to justify his position. This sort of reasoning only betrays weakness. One should try to emulate and imitate only the virtues of one's leaders, never their faults. Our national leaders do not claim to be paragons of perfection. They occupy the position of eminence that they do in public life by virtue of certain qualities which they exhibit in their character. Let us ponder over those qualities and try to assimilate them, let us not even think of their shortcomings. No son can be called a worthy son of his father who only imbibes the shortcomings of his parents or pleads inability to keep clear of them. It is the virtues, not the faults of one's parents, that constitute one's true legacy. A son who only adds to the debts of his parents would be written down as unworthy. A worthy son would liquidate their debts and increase the legacy left by them.

Young India, 22-8-1929

214. 'BITTER AS POISON'[1]

A correspondent has addressed me several posers for answers in *Navajivan*. One of these runs:

> The fateful 1st of January 1930 is approaching fast, but you are still harping on your incantatory formula of "khadi, khadi, and again khadi", and refuse to give any effective lead to the country. I for one have no stomach left for this "hand-spun" war-cry of yours, and I believe it has begun to get on the nerves of the country too. Why not give a mandate to youthful leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose to raise a force of one crore national volunteers who would be ready to lay down their lives for the sake of the country? Let the wearing of khadi or in the alternative swadeshi mill-cloth be made a necessary condition for enrolment. Similarly you may promulgate whatever other conditions you think necessary for the enrolment, and give to khadi the principal place among these. I do not mind that. The country is as impatient as ever to embark upon non-co-operation or civil disobedience; only it lacks the proper lead. Simultaneously with this I would suggest that leaders like Vallabhbhai should be called upon to organize labour and peasantry, and you will find that they would rise up and stand together like one man to face the ordeal of fire without flinching, even as the brave cultivators of Bardoli did last year.

I am sorry to say that even if khadi gets on one's nerves, as it is alleged by the correspondent to do, I have no other remedy to suggest in its place. I cannot conceive of swaraj without khadi, for the simple reason that without it the lot of the peasantry is bound to remain precarious in India, and it constitutes more than eight-tenths of her entire population.

Nor is it true to say that the country is utterly fed up with khadi, and that khadi has begun to get on the people's nerves. It may be so in the case of a handful of town-dwellers of India, but they do not constitute India. India's city-dwelling population in the midst of the teeming millions of her villages is as a drop in the ocean. The foundation of India's nationality is to be laid not in her towns but in her villages, and the only movement that is at present actively going on among India's villages is that of khadi. It is daily expanding. It today provides a living to at least 2,000

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 11-8-1929. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

middle-class young men, and enables over one lakh of poor women spinners to eke out a living. Similarly it is giving employment to over ten thousand weavers, and a host of washermen, dyers, carders, tailors, etc. If in spite of all these beneficent results that khadi has produced and is producing, it is as gall and wormwood to any, I can only pity them.

It is a gratuitous insult to Pandit Jawaharlal or Subhas Chandra Bose to say that they are awaiting my permission or mandate to organize the youth of the country, and are being kept back for want of it. They are already doing the work of organization to the best of their power and ability. They need no permission from me for doing their part. If they are true soldiers as I believe they are, I could not hold them back if I would. But the plain, painful fact of the matter is that today not to talk of one crore volunteers, there are not ten thousand who are prepared completely to sacrifice themselves for duty's sake. I know that they can get ready in no time if they wish, but 'the will to do' is lacking. You cannot get swaraj by mere speeches, shows, processions, etc. What is needed is solid, steady, constructive work; what the youth craves for and is fed on is only the former.

It is a gross misrepresentation of the true situation to say that the masses are impatient to be led to civil disobedience, but that I am hanging back. I know well enough how to lead to civil disobedience a people who are prepared to embark upon it on my terms. I see no such sign on the horizon. But I live in faith. I am still hoping that a way out of the "encircling gloom" will be found on 1st January next.

As for Sardar Vallabhbhai he carries my permission in his pocket always. But he needs a Bardoli to make good his leadership. How many Bardolis are there ready in the country today? It took Bardoli seven years of silent preparation to prepare for limited satyagraha for the redress of her wrongs. It is a question whether even Bardoli is today ready for utter self-immolation to obtain freedom for the whole of India. Both the Sardar and myself entertain the highest hopes about Bardoli, but her time is obviously not yet. She is herself in travail.

Young India, 5-9-1929

215. FRUIT OF SATYAGRAHA

A "Spiritual Seeker" writes:[1]

The fruit of satyagraha, howsoever slight, is the same as described by the "Spiritual Seeker". The history of the world is full of the triumph of satyagraha. Not a single instance of its defeat can be found. But one should make sure that stress is laid on truth alone. I have received the amount sent by the "Spiritual Seeker". He has sent a currency note without registering it. No one should do this. Anyone who wishes to send a currency note should seal the envelope and register it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-8-1929

216. MY NOTES

To the Person Who Has Given His Name

Although doctors very often regard marriage as a cure, they are, I think, gravely mistaken in this matter. I know that some persons have benefited, but I also know that many people have been harmed, by it. It is not proper to abandon the straight path and get misled by taking a crooked path because sometimes one feels that momentary success can be thus achieved. The better alternative is not to deviate from the straight path, despite any hardships that one may have to undergo; the path of self-control is hence the only one that I can recommend in circumstances such as yours.

To 'Reader of "Navajivan"'

There is much in your letter that calls for a reply, but I do not wish to encourage anonymous letters. If you send me your name and address, I shall try to give you a reply.

To 'A Kathiawari Youth'

If there is no ill will in your questions, they are harmless. But whether they are well or ill meant, why this cowardice in conceal-

[1] The letter is not translated here. Reporting that as a result of satyagraha, he had succeeded in persuading someone to take a vow of improving his conduct day by day, the correspondent had sent ten rupees to be utilized for diverse public causes.

ing your name while asking questions? You bring credit neither to yourself nor to Kathiawar by this concealment. Those who do not possess even the courage to reveal their names can render no service, much less join in the fight for swaraj.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-8-1929

217. DID RAMA SHED BLOOD?

This is the second question put by the very same gentleman to whom khadi is like poison:[1]

It is my confirmed opinion that non-violent non-co-operation is the strength not of the weak but especially of the strong. It is a universal principle. We practise it all the time, consciously or unconsciously. Current history takes note of wars waged by kings. The history of the people—of the nation—has to be written hereafter. When such history is written, we shall come across non-violent non-co-operation on every page of it. What a wife who refuses to submit to a cruel husband does, constitutes non-violent non-co-operation. The history of the Quakers[2] has been made glorious by non-violent non-co-operation. The history of the Vaishnavas in India bears testimony to the very same thing. The whole world can do what these people have been able to do.

Those who look into the matter can clearly see that the world is moving in the direction of peace. Although cast in human form, the human race has not yet given up its bestial instincts; it has no alternative but to give them up. Hence the example of cats and dogs is irrelevant and ill befits us. We are not cats and dogs but creatures who stand erect on two legs, who strive to realize the self and are endowed with the capacity to reason.

And what about Ramachandra? Who has proved that he shed rivers of blood in Lanka? When was a ten-headed Ravana born? Who had seen an army of monkeys? The *Rama-*

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had said that in his opinion non-violent non-co-operation was best for Indians only because they were weak and unarmed, that Rama had shed blood in his battle with Ravana, that a dog could snatch away a kitten only after killing the mother-cat, that 33 crores of Indians could not all have faith in non-violence. For the first question and answer, *vide* pp. 275-6.

[2] Members of the Society of Friends, a religious sect founded by George Fox in the 17th century. They had adopted great simplicity of attire and were highly respected for their honourable dealings.

yana is a sacred book, an allegory. The Rama who is worshipped by millions of persons dwells in our heart and is its sovereign master. Ravana too is the terrible form given to the base desires which dwell within us. The Rama dwelling within us is continuously waging war against the Ravana. Rama is the very embodiment of compassion. We have not much to learn if a historical figure Rama had waged a war against another historical figure Ravana. Why should we go searching in the past for such characters? They are to be found at many places today. Rama the eternal is a form of Brahman, the image of truth and non-violence.

The problem of India will be solved neither through anger nor through misinterpretations of the *Ramayana*, etc., nor through imitation of beasts. In order to solve this problem, we shall have to know ourselves. Non-violent non-co-operation is something that will remind Indians of their humanity. It may be that millions of men will not accept it all at once. Millions will never take up arms. Even if there are a few determined warriors in the non-violent war, they will be able to protect millions and instil life into them. Even if this is only a dream of mine, it appears fascinating to me. Even if it is a 'flower of the skies'[1], it appears beautiful to my imagination and its fragrance ever haunts me.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-8-1929

218. EXPERIMENT IN UNCOOKED FOOD

I cannot give a report of progress only in regard to this experiment this week. I have had to ask two persons to give up the experiment, as I was not competent enough to deal with their weak state and their constipation and had to accept defeat. From the experiments on my own system and those of some others, I had concluded that coconut milk and raw greens would be able to cure their constipation. But that did not happen. Despite taking a large quantity of the above, their constipation could not be cured. On my own system, it is having just the opposite result. There is no sign of constipation whatever; coconut milk and green vegetables are having too much the contrary effect. That too is not a good sign.

I cannot also note much progress in the experiments carried out by others. Despite this, I am convinced that this is a good field

[1] A Gujarati phrase meaning 'an impossibility'

and deserves to be explored. Cooked food can never be as nourishing and tasty as food which is uncooked. As the field is a new one, we have before us relatively few experiences of it. Hence this experiment can be tried through patience alone.

Those who are carrying on this experiment should exercise caution in doing so, not stick to it obstinately, and should give it up if they do not have the capacity to carry it on. It can be safely stated that vegetables and pulses, if eaten, should be eaten raw; hence wheat would be the only item which would have to be cooked. No harm and no weakness would result from taking a diet of *rotis*, milk, raw vegetables and sprouted pulses. The quantity of pulses should be small; vegetables too should be taken in small quantities, i.e., about three *tolas* of the former and about five of the latter.

One of those who are carrying on this experiment has sent in the following report[1] about his experience.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-8-1929

219. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

August 11, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

This is an account they have sent me of the little band of satyagrahis who will present you with an address.

You may not mind the wires and protests you are receiving.[2] You will judge things for yourself when you go to Kathiawar if at all Kamala's condition permits you to do so. I leave Bombay 7th September for Bhopal and reach Agra as per programme on 11th unless you want any alteration.

Yours,
BAPU

A.I.C.C. File No. 273, 1931. Courtesy: Nehru Momorial Museum and Library

[1] Not translated here. The correspondent had given his experience of 28 days; in the beginning he felt hungry, but on increasing the quantity of intake the complaint vanished; he had constipation for some days, but when bananas were replaced by grapes, cereals were reduced and the greens and coconut milk increased, he got over the trouble.

[2] *Vide* p. 270.

220. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

[*August 11, 1929*][1]

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. I shall now do what more is possible beyond the cheque sent by Vallabhbhai. These things are going beyond much human effort.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 894

221. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"[2]

BOMBAY,
August 12, 1929

Gandhiji granted an exclusive interview to me today.

Asked about his views on Mr. MacDonald's speech and the absence of reference to India in the King's speech, he said:

I have not read the full text of the speech. I am unable to make any pronouncement on the question.

When informed of the impressions of those who had met the Secretary of State for India and other Cabinet members about the Labour Government's "anxiety" to conciliate Indian opinion, Gandhiji said:

I quite realize the Labour Government's difficulty. Everything depends upon the offer they make.

When pointed out that the Simon Commission to which the Labour Party had committed itself had not concluded their work, Gandhiji remarked:

Where there is a will there is a way.

Referring to the Lahore Congress Presidentship, Mahatmaji declared that he would not accept the honour. He was only a back-number, he said. When I pointed out that he was leading in the election in spite of his article[3] in *Young India*, Gandhiji repeated:

[1] As indicated by the addressee

[2] This was published under the caption, "Lahore and India: Gandhiji on Congress Demand" as from "an occasional correspondent".

[3] *Vide* pp. 239-41.

I will not accept it. The matter will be referred to the A.I.C.C. for final decision.

Asked if the final choice did not rest with the Reception Committee, he said:

No, the matter will be considered by the A.I.C.C.

Asked whether Independence would be declared in the Lahore Congress, Gandhiji stated in clear terms:

I have no reason to lose any hope. I am for Dominion Status. I will wait for it till the midnight bell of December 31, 1929 rings. I hope Dominion Status will be given by that time; if not, on January first I will be an Independence-wallah.

Gandhiji when questioned about his experiment with unfired food said:

That is the best question you have put me.

He added, he was enjoying the same amount of health. General condition was exceptionally good. Medical opinion was favourable, but he had lost ten pounds in weight. He had not come to any final decision about unfired food.

The Hindu, 12-8-1929

222. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

August 12, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I get your letters all right. And now I am also getting some details.

I have very little time left to me.

Sushila seems to have become restless; it is therefore only right that she should now come over here.

Sorabji is just what he was a year ago. But I can understand that Sushila should take to heart all that has happened since. But we have to live in this world without attachment, retaining [our] sweetness and without losing virtue.

Ramdas had been here for a few days. Nimu has gone to Lakhtar. Devdas went to Delhi from Almora.

I am keeping well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4757

223. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

August 12, 1929

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. You needs must visit your in-laws for a week or two. They ask for your presence at some auspicious ceremony. They will be pleased; it will further clear your way.

The letter from Jayaprakash is all right. His return will continue to be postponed. At the moment I have no time to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3358

224. TELEGRAM TO AMRITLAL THAKKAR[1]

[On or after *August 12, 1929*]

THAKKAR

RETURNED FROM BOMBAY TODAY. WIRED RAMANLAL MORNING DETAIN HARIVALLABH.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15461

225. ARBITRATORS' AWARD

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
AHMEDABAD,
August 14, 1929

The labourers have pleaded that the present condition of mills is so good that the cut effected in 1923 should be abolished and they should revert to the minimum wages received by them in that year.[2] After hearing both sides on this point and after examining the statements submitted, the Arbitrators give their deci-

[1] In reply to his telegram dated August 12, which read: "Have you written Petlad. Wiring detain Harivallabh Assam."

[2] This was the original contention of the Labour Union, which, however, was subsequently withdrawn. *Vide* p. 270.

sion to the effect that, as the labourers' party could not prove its point, the plea has been rejected.

MOHANDAS GANDHI
MANGALDAS GIRDHARDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14975

226. LETTER TO SIR PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 14, 1929

BHAISHRI,

I have another letter from you and today some printed and typewritten material too, which I shall find time to go through. I shall leave nothing undone that I can. Please do keep me informed. I shall not be tired.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SIR PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS
NAVSARI CHAMBERS
OUTRAM ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY-1

Purushottamdas Thakurdas Papers, File No. 89/1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

227. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 14, 1929

BHAISHRI HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. Your own report is good. I have no time to dictate more now. Bhai Ghanshyamdas is led away by his love; he therefore gets angry even with one who makes an innocent suggestion. Nor am I going to let go the honey[1] in a hurry. I am carrying on my experiment with great care. Give plenty of reassurance to Ghanshyamdas and make him shed his fear. I am returning your two letters. I shall write more if I get the time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6067. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

[1] Like one who drops the honeycomb at the first sting

228. TELEGRAM TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS TANDON[1]

[On or after *August 14, 1929*]

DO PLEASE COME SABARMATI ON OR BEFORE TWENTY-FIRST.

From a photostat: S.N. 15452

229. UNFIRED FOOD

DEAR SIR,

I have read the further account[2] of your dietetic experiment — reprinted in *The Hindu* of July 22 — with much interest; and I am glad to see that you do not carry your objections to milk and its products to the extent of recommending the 'youth of India' not to use it. Indeed, you are, if I may say so, recording the results of your experiment with much open-mindedness. But there are in your account two mis-statements of fact: (a) the capacity of the plant-world to sustain man at his highest is not an unexplored field to modern medical science, and this science has shown it to be not unlimited: one reason for the nutritive limitations of a purely vegetable diet for man is the difference in length and structure between the human gastro-intestinal tract and that of herbivorous animals. Man's digestive tube is not long enough nor capacious enough to accommodate a sufficient mass of suitable vegetable food, nor to extract from such as it can contain all the nutriment man needs for *his fullest well-being;* (b) there is only one vitamin—vitamin D—for which man can rely (to a considerable extent) upon the sun. . . . there is nothing to indicate the possibility of "getting the most important of the vitamins from the sun", though, no doubt, the sun plays a great part in their production in the foods available for mankind. . . .

One of the *great* faults in Indian diets at the present day is their deficiency in vitamin A, in suitable proteins and in certain salts; and the greatest nutritional need of India is the freer use of good milk. . . . Do not, I beg of you, decry it: for a pint of milk a day will do more for 'Young India' than most things I wot of. It is, for example, to deficiency of vitamin A that we owe so much disease of the bowels and lungs,

[1] In reply to his telegram dated August 14 from Lahore, which read: "Retiring from Bank 31st August. Intend seeing you before 21st. May I come Sabarmati?"

[2] *Vide* pp. 196-9.

so much disease of the bladder (such as 'stone') and so much anaemia in this country.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
R. McCARRISON

COONOOR,
26th July, 1929

PS. When next you make an Andhra tour, avoid "the extreme weakness" which overtook you in your last one, by taking a pint of milk a day!

I publish this letter[1] thankfully and wish that other men versed in medical science would also guide me. In making the experiment, I am trying to find out the truth about food in so far as it is possible for a layman to do so.

As for Dr. McCarrison's argument about the necessity of animal food, I dare not as a layman combat it, but I may state that there are medical men who are decidedly of opinion that animal food including milk is not necessary for sustaining the human system to the full. By instinct and upbringing I personally favour a purely vegetarian diet, and have for years been experimenting in finding a suitable vegetarian combination. But there is no danger of my decrying milk until I have obtained overwhelming evidence in support of a milkless diet. It is one of the many inconsistencies of my life that whilst I am in my own person avoiding milk, I am conducting a model dairy which is already producing cow's milk that can successfully compete with any such milk produced in India in purity and fat content.

Notwithstanding Dr. McCarrison's claim for medical science I submit that scientists have not yet explored the hidden possibilities of the innumerable seeds, leaves and fruits for giving the fullest possible nutrition to mankind. For one thing the tremendous vested interests that have grown round the belief in animal food prevent the medical profession from approaching the question with complete detachment. It almost seems to me that it is reserved for lay enthusiasts to cut their way through a mountain of difficulties even at the risk of their lives to find the truth. I should be satisfied if scientists would lend their assistance to such humble seekers.

I am thankful for Dr. McCarrison's more accurate statement about vitamins.

Young India, 15-8-1929

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

230. *NOTES*

The Oriental Brand

So the editor of a world-known magazine has to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000 for having dared to re-publish in book form articles written for and published in his magazine from time to time by an American humanitarian. Dr. Sunderland's *India in Bondage* is nothing more than mainly his articles collected from *The Modern Review*. As I have often remarked in these pages[1] the section under which Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee was charged is so wide and so elastic that almost anyone who at all wrote truthfully and fearlessly could be found guilty under it. It is a travesty of justice to bring a man of the status of Ramananda Babu under that section. But he is labouring under the sin of possessing a brown skin. The brand of the oriental is marked on his forehead and so he and his publisher are punished as felons. I do not suppose this prosecution will in any shape or form affect Ramananda Babu's writings or his choice of articles for his magazine. He has received an unexpected advertisement. The Government has earned not immunity from disaffection but a larger measure of it for its pains in having embarked upon this prosecution. Those who are noted for their extremism expect prosecution some time or other. Men of Ramananda Babu's type though noted for their independence of spirit but always known for their sobriety were never expected to be hauled up as criminals before courts of justice (miscalled). The unexpected has however happened. I congratulate Ramananda Babu on his good luck in finding himself in the same distinguished gallery as Lokamanya Tilak. Whatever the technicalities of law, for the ordinary citizen this prosecution and judgment will be counted as a sin against the nation.

Assam Flood

Sjt. Bipin Chandra Pal wrote to me whilst I was in Bombay:

> I am here since last Wednesday on a mission of mercy. You know that Sylhet is my native district. Sylhet and Cachar have been recently overtaken by a flood of the like of which the oldest living people of those parts have no recollection. I understand that you have already been moved by the reports of the suffering of the poor of these districts to send

[1] *Vide* pp. 17-9 & 36-8.

a few thousands of rupees for their help. The extent of the calamity is being gradually brought home to the workers there. Mr. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society had been to the afflicted districts and, seeing things with his own eyes, and realizing the inadequacy of the help already received, he asked the Sylhet-Cachar Flood Relief Committee to try and send a deputation to Bombay and other provinces and induce me to lead it. When asked to undertake this, I could not possibly refuse to do so though I am not as young as I was twenty years ago nor in the best of health. This is the story of my present visit to Bombay.

I write this to ask your help in this work. I enclose a cutting from the papers giving the latest estimate of the extent of the calamity. If you are moved to say a word in support of our appeal, I have no doubt that even the present trade depression, which is certainly very bad in Bombay, will not be able to close the channels of charity for this purpose. I have no doubt that you will do this for our poor.

I gladly endorse the appeal. The calamity is appalling and every little help tells.

Charkha for Flood Relief

Sjt. Dhirendra Das wires[1] from Kulaura which is within the Assam flood zone:

Today I am reporting how the charkha is working. There were three spinning centres in the flooded area in Karimganj before the flood. . . . After the flood three new centres have been opened . . . One important point to note is that the number of the ration tickets in the spinning centres is much smaller than in the other non-spinning centres that are equally affected. There is a great demand for wheels throughout Sylhet and Cachar districts. In every village there are some who know spinning. Two thousand charkhas can be introduced easily. Yarn can be consumed locally. There are weavers. Our other relief operations, namely, doling rice and paddy, house building, tank disinfection, supplying fodder, paddy husking, mat making, continue as usual. Sheth Ramanlal Keshavlal of Petlad came here and paid Rs. 250 for spinning and Bhimjibhai of Chittagong Rs. 50 for general work. Sjt. Thakkar left Silchar leaving work with Sjt. Harivallabhbhai, the representative of Sheth Ramanlal. Harivallabhbhai often consults and helps in relief works other than spinning. Our funds are too inadequate to meet the situation. May we appeal to you for help?

This shows what an important part the charkha can play when everything else fails and how when it is well organized it spares people the humiliation of living on charity.

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

INTERVIEW WITH MR. JINNAH

No speculation need take place regarding my meeting[1] Mr. Jinnah in Bombay. Ever since her return from her brilliant tour in the West Sarojini Devi has been busy planning schemes for bringing about Hindu-Muslim union. To that end she has been trying to bring people together. As her landing place was Bombay, she naturally commenced operations there and met Mr. Jinnah, and suggested at Allahabad that I should go to Bombay at an early date and meet Mr. Jinnah as also the Ali Brothers. And so I went and first met Mr. Jinnah and then the Ali Brothers. Our conversation was as between friends. The two conversations were unconnected with each other. They were mere friendly conversations and need have no importance attached to them. I have no representative capacity and I did not go as a representative. But naturally I want to explore all possible avenues to peace and never lose a single opportunity of knowing the mind of those who have any influence in India. It is best therefore for the public not to speculate about the contents or the results of these conversations. If anything comes out of them, they will certainly know. Meanwhile let those who believe in prayer pray with me that there may soon be peace between Hindus, Mussalmans and all the other communities. And let those who believe with me that such peace is indispensable for our full growth, aye, even the progress of the world, strive their best for it. Every honest effort however humble will bring peace nearer.

Young India, 15-8-1929

231. FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT

The propaganda for the boycott of foreign cloth is being steadily continued by the F.C.B. Committee as will be seen from the following extract[2] from its latest bulletin.

> More Municipalities have taken action. Nipani in Belgaum district has, in addition to increasing local tax on foreign-cloth import, exempted hand-spun and hand-woven khadi from the same and resolved to purchase as far as possible homespun khadi for peons' uniforms, etc. Bezwada Municipality (Andhra) has resolved to make all their cloth purchases in hand-spun khadi only and also to push spinning in all schools. But the credit for by far the boldest action hitherto taken by a local body goes

[1] On August 12, 1929

[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

> to Murwara Municipality (C.P.) which has resolved to raise terminal tax on all foreign cloth from annas 2 to Rs. 2 per maund. It has of course exempted hand-spun khadi from the same tax. . . .
>
> SIND: 18 centres of khadi sale are working—7 in Karachi and one each at Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Bhiria, Halani, Talti, Rohri, Sukkur, Shikarpur, Naushahra, Feroze, Larkhana and Jacobabad. . . .
>
> AGRA (U.P.): . . . 250 houses were visited, 300 rupees worth of khadi hawked and pledges to boycott foreign cloth were taken from 100 persons. . . .
>
> MYMENSINGH (BENGAL): Twelve lecturers with six magic lanterns and slides are touring the district and about 300 lectures have been delivered. . . .

But the Committee has its limitations. Unless there is willing, intelligent and sustained co-operation from all Congress Committees, the work cannot bring about the boycott we want during the year. Much more concentration is necessary.

Young India, 15-8-1929

232. SOME RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS

A gentleman has sent the following questions:

> 1. What is the true nature and aim of dharma?
>
> The evils perpetrated in the name of religion today are really amazing. We bring in religion in extremely minor matters. But are there any men today who understand the aim and nature of religion? This is all due to lack of religious education. I hope you will take the trouble of expressing your views on this and the following other questions in *Hindi Navajivan*.
>
> 2. What are the ways of attaining peace for one's soul and achieving one's object in this world and the next?
>
> 3. Do you think a man can escape the punishment for his past misdeeds if he atones for them?
>
> 4. What should be the prime aim and duty of man in his life?

It is a matter of joy and wonder that among the readers of *Young India*, Gujarati *Navajivan* and *Hindi Navajivan* it is mostly the Hindi readers who ask questions regarding religion. It does not necessarily mean that people from other provinces lack curiosity in matters of religion. It is, however, true that it is the readers of *Hindi Navajivan*, more than others, who love religious discussions and expect my help in solving their religious problems. I cannot claim a deep direct knowledge of the scriptures. But

of course I do claim to be trying to abide by religious principles. In my attempt to do so if the experience gained by me can be of any help to the readers they are most welcome to it. Having thus mentioned my limitation in this regard I will now attempt to answer the questions.

1. It is true that we lack religious education in the country. Religious instruction can only be imparted through the practice of religion, not by exhibiting mere learning. That's why someone has said: What is there that *satsang*[1] cannot do for a man? Who does not know the emphasis Tulsidas laid on the importance of *satsang*? This does not mean that there is no need to read and understand religious books. But the need for books, etc., arises only after a man has had *satsang* and has purified himself to a certain extent. If one starts studying religious books before this stage then instead of bringing peace this study could hinder the growth. This means that an intelligent man should put his religion into practice straightaway instead of worrying himself with all manner of questions. Then according to the maxim "as with the individual so with the world", one is bound to influence the other. If each one of us was to take care of one's self, nobody would need to worry about the others.

2. Only by living a saintly life can one obtain peace. This is the way to fulfilment in this world and the next. A saintly life is that in which we practise truth, ahimsa and restraint. Enjoyment of pleasures can never be one's dharma. Dharma has its source in renunciation only.

3. It is possible to atone for one's past misdeeds and it is our duty to do so. Atonement is not supplication, nor crying or whimpering, though there is some scope for fasting, etc., in it. Repentance is the true atonement. In other words the resolve not to commit the mistake again is without doubt the true penance. The results of the misdeeds are wiped out to some extent. Until we atone for a sin it goes on accumulating like compound interest. This stops once we do the penance.

4. The aim of man in his life is self-realization. The one and the only means of attaining this is to spend one's life in serving humanity in a true altruistic spirit and lose oneself in this and realize the oneness of life.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 15-8-1929

[1] Association with good or good persons

233. TREE WORSHIP[1]

A correspondent writes:

> It is a common enough sight in this country to see men and women offering worship to stocks and stones and trees, but I was surprised to find that even educated women belonging to the families of enthusiastic social workers were not above this practice. Some of those sisters and friends defend the practice by saying, that since it is founded on pure reverence for the divine in nature and no false beliefs, it cannot be classed as superstition, and they cite the names of Satyavan and Savitri whose memory, they say, they commemorate in that way. The argument does not convince me. May I request you to throw some light on the matter?

I like this question. It raises the old, old question of image worship. I am both a supporter and opponent of image worship. When image worship degenerates into idolatry and becomes encrusted with false beliefs and doctrines, it becomes a necessity to combat it as a gross social evil. On the other hand image worship in the sense of investing one's ideal with a concrete shape is inherent in man's nature, and even valuable as an aid to devotion. Thus we worship an image when we offer homage to a book which we regard as holy or sacred. We worship an image when we visit a temple or a mosque with a feeling of sanctity or reverence. Nor do I see any harm in all this. On the contrary, endowed as man is with a finite, limited understanding, he can hardly do otherwise. Even so, far from seeing anything inherently evil or harmful in tree worship, I find in it a thing instinct with a deep pathos and poetic beauty. It symbolizes true reverence for the entire vegetable kingdom, which with its endless panorama of beautiful shapes and forms, declares to us as it were with a million tongues the greatness and glory of God. Without vegetation our planet would not be able to support life even for a moment. In such a country especially, therefore, in which there is a scarcity of trees, tree worship assumes a profound economic significance.

I therefore see no necessity for leading a crusade against tree worship. It is true that the poor simple-minded women who offer worship to trees have no reasoned understanding of the implications of their act. Possibly they would not be able to give

[1] The Hindi original of this appeared in *Hindi Navajivan*, 15-8-1929. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

any explanation as to why they perform it. They act in the purity and utter simplicity of their faith. Such faith is not a thing to be despised; it is a great and powerful force that we should treasure.

Far different, however, is the case of vows and prayers which votaries offer before trees. The offering of vows and prayers for selfish ends, whether offered in churches, mosques, temples or before trees and shrines, is a thing not to be encouraged. Making of selfish requests or offering of vows is not related to image worship as effect and cause. A personal selfish prayer is bad whether made before an image or an unseen God.

Let no one, however, from this understand me to mean that I advocate tree worship in general. I do not defend tree worship because I consider it to be a necessary aid to devotion, but only because I recognize that God manifests Himself in innumerable forms in this universe, and every such manifestation commands my spontaneous reverence.

Young India, 26-9-1929

234. LETTER TO CHANDRAKANT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 15, 1929

BHAI CHANDRAKANT[1],

Participants in *Rentiya Baras*[2] should take stock of their spinning for the last twelve months and, if it is found to be less than that for the year before, they should observe the day by resolving to stop observing it. This, truly, will be service unto Him. It will protect your pledge from being violated and will uphold the honour of this day. This is my message.

Blessings from

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—3: Kusumbehn Desaine, p. 82

[1] Ex-president of the municipality and a worker of Kapadwanj Seva Sangh

[2] Literally 'Spinning 12th', Gandhiji's birthday according to Vikram era; the 12th *tithi* was celebrated by non-stop spinning.

235. *TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA*[1]

AHMEDABAD,
August 17, 1929

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
8 ROYAL EXCHANGE, CALCUTTA

YOUR WIRE. SLIGHT ATTACK DYSENTERY. CERTAINLY VERY WEAK BUT BEST DOCTOR ADVISING NO CAUSE ANXIETY. SHALL TAKE GOAT'S MILK WHEN BECOMES IMPERATIVE. UNCOOKED STOPPED SINCE THURSDAY.

GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 7882. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

236. *TELEGRAM TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*[2]

[On or after *August 17, 1929*]

THANKS. REPORTS EXAGGERATED. MAKING PROGRESS.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15474

237. *TELEGRAM TO KHURSHED NAOROJI*[3]

[On or after *August 17, 1929*]

EXPERIMENT FORGOTTEN. NOT YET RESTORED NORMAL CONDITION. NO ANXIETY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15473

[1] In reply to his telegram dated August 17, which read: "Much concerned about Gandhiji's health. Wire full details. Please persuade him to keep entirely on milk diet for a few days enabling him to regain his lost weight" (S.N. 15472).

[2] In reply to his telegram dated August 17, which read: "Kindly wire Mahatmaji's health."

[3] In reply to her telegram dated August 17, which read: "All anxious for your health. Please forget all experiments."

Kakasaheb wishes to serve a number of purposes through this supplement. One of these is that persons who have passed what is ordinarily regarded as the school age, who are householders, are engaged in a profession or otherwise and are employed — the men and women living in about ten thousand villages of Maha Gujarat — should receive some kind of education which it is possible to give them. The term education in this sense should be interpreted in a wider sense. It is something distinct from a knowledge of the alphabet. Villagers today have no practical knowledge in many fields and we find, instead, that often ignorant superstition has established a hold over them. Through this supplement, Kakasaheb intends to rid them of these superstitions and give them some useful knowledge.

From the standpoint of health, the condition of villages is deplorable. One of the chief causes of our poverty is the non-availability of this essential knowledge of hygiene. If sanitation in villages can be improved, lakhs of rupees will easily be saved and the condition of people improved to that extent. A sick peasant can never work as hard as a healthy one. Not a little harm is being done because we have a higher death-rate than the average.

It is held that our economically backward condition is responsible for our deplorable insanitation and that if the former is bettered, the latter will improve automatically. Let this be said in order to malign the Government or to put all the blame on it, but there is not even fifty per cent truth in that statement. In my opinion based on experience, our poverty plays a very small part in our insanitary condition. I know what part it plays and where, but I do not wish to go into it here.

The purpose of this series of articles is to point out the ways and means of eradicating those diseases for the incidence of which we are responsible and which can be readily eradicated at little or no expense.

Let us examine the state of our villages from this standpoint. Many of these are found to be like heaps of garbage. People urinate and defecate at all places in the villages, not excluding even their own courtyards. Where this is done, no one takes care to cover up the faeces. The village roads are never well maintained and one finds heaps of dust everywhere. We ourselves and our

bullocks find it difficult even to walk on them. If there is a pond, people wash their utensils in it, cattle drink, bathe and wallow in it; children and even adults clean themselves in it after evacuation; they even defecate on the ground near it. This same water is used for drinking and cooking purposes.

No rules are observed while building houses. Neither the convenience of neighbours, nor residents' facilities for light and air are considered when buildings are put up.

Because of a lack of co-operation among villagers, they do not even grow things which are essential to ensure their own hygienic conditions. Villagers do not put their leisure hours to good use, or perhaps they do not know how to do so, as a result of which their physical and mental capacity is depleted.

For want of general knowledge of hygiene, when there is an incidence of a disease, instead of employing some home remedies very often the villagers seek the help of magicians or get involved in the web of *mantras* and spend money and in return the disease is merely aggravated.

In this series, we shall examine all these reasons and see what can be done in the matter.

[From Gujarati]

Shikshan ane Sahitya, 18-8-1929

239. FLOOD RELIEF IN ASSAM

Shri Thakkar Bapa has written the following letter[1] on the above subject.

The reader will find from this that there is considerable need for assistance there and the sums contributed by him are being put to good use. I have requested Shri Harivallabhdas Shah to prolong his stay there and he would most probably have done so. It was necessary to obtain permission from Shri Naranbhai Keshavlal's firm to allow him to stay there longer. That permission was generously and promptly granted through a telegram.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 18-8-1929

[1] Not translated here. Thakkar Bapa had acknowledged receipt of Rs. 24,000 and explained how it was used for distribution of rice, and encouraging spinning in flood-stricken Assam.

240. NEED FOR FAR-SIGHTEDNESS

A reader makes the following comment on Shri Jivram Kalyanji's "Correction" published in *Navajivan* dated 4-8-'29:[1]

The above does not apply to Shri Jivram's argument. He merely argued that he had gone over to Orissa not in order to wipe out the prevalent impression that he had done an injustice to the labourers, but rather because he was touched by their sufferings. Those from whom he had purchased the *harde* were not labourers serving under him but persons who collected it on their own and sold it to him. The problem posed by the above correspondent is a separate but important one; hence I have published the letter. It is largely true that, although by collecting raw material and exporting it abroad, individuals may benefit themselves, the country as a whole is a loser rather than a gainer and is robbed of its wealth. However, such things also grow in India as cannot be utilized and for the utilization of which we do not have sufficient facilities. We should certainly export such items abroad and import them in the form of new products. I do not see any use for the craze that we should process all items that are grown in India. We may even do harm to ourselves by doing so. Whether *harde* is something that should be exported or not is a different question. I am unable to give an opinion on it. However, cotton is the most important item which should not be exported at all; so long as we are guilty of this offence, the export of other minor items is hardly of any significance. To take such small items into account is to do business without any sense of proportion. If we were far-sighted, we would devote all our time and all our talent for the present to the utilization of our cotton in our villages. If we can take care of this one factor, the rest will take care of itself. We should realize that, just as various small poisonous plants which thrive under the shade of a poisonous tree are automatically destroyed along with the destruction of the main tree, similar is the case of unscrupulous trading in cotton.

While considering this question, I have so far only taken into account cloth that is imported from England and have shown

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had stated how *harde* or myrobalan, used in dyeing, tanning, etc., was exported by Indian traders, while Europeans processed the stuff and imported it into India for use in the dye industry, making enormous profits.

that by doing so we throw away sixty crores of rupees. If we take into account the cloth that is imported from Japan and other countries, the figure would reach one hundred crores. However, that is not the whole story. In addition to this, lakhs of rupees are sent abroad as a result of this trade. This leaves out all the amount that the country spends on this Rs. 100 crores by way of insurance premia paid to foreign agencies and many more similar activities that are carried on.

Business men as a class are the greatest hurdle in the way of solving this important question. They are not prepared to give up their trade in foreign cloth or change it for something else. They adopt many means, both fair and unfair, in order to keep up that trade and arguments can be found to support such practices. Again, just as we import our cloth from abroad, we also adopt foreign ideas. What we find here mostly are English newspapers and magazines full of beautiful pictures, well printed and written with great skill. As the owners of these journals have large sums of money at their disposal, it is but natural that their articles are clever. Hence, momentarily our own ideas appear insipid to us, whereas we are dazzled by theirs. And what more could we ask for when these ideas further our self-interest? Things being in such a pitiable condition, actually the main task is to bring about a change of heart in business men who deal in foreign cloth; in other words, our task in achieving swaraj will become most simple when business men introduce the concept of the welfare of others in their business and give national welfare an important place in it.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 18-8-1929

241. *IF SPINNERS ALSO WEAVE?*[1]

If the above figures are correct, the reader will see that the activity of spinning alone can remain the focus and all those who spin are certainly self-reliant for ever.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 18-8-1929

[1] Shivabhai Gokalbhai Patel in this article, not reproduced here, repudiates Shri Jethalal's plea that a person can earn more if he performs all the functions pertaining to making of cloth, i.e., carding, spinning and weaving by himself (p. 184). He further states that it is not possible to set up looms in every household. Besides that, weaving requires the help of other persons.

242. *LETTER TO RAMNIKLAL MODI*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 18, 1929

CHI. RAMNIKLAL,

Chhaganlal passes on your letters for me to read. And now I have one directly addressed to me. I think of you almost daily, I often wish to write too, but I have no time. Besides, now I am confined to my bed. There is no cause for worry. I am better today. It is 2 o'clock now but I have had no motion since 6 o'clock. I remember the lady. The letter from her is nice. I hope you sent her a proper reply. Go on patiently doing what you can. It is essential, though, that you attain perfection in a few matters. I had a long and interesting letter from Tara. She enjoys great peace of mind at Vedchhi. You should improve your health too. How are things nowadays?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4146

243. *LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 18, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

I was wondering why there had been no letter from you. I have one today. There was no need for you to have offered anything, so please forget about it. Please do not be sorry. You must not invite domestic discord on that account. The weakness that you now feel will pass away if you are patient. Now that you have got a good deal of experience you will know what diet you should take. Moreover, I am now confined to bed. I had an attack of dysentery. I feel better today. On such an occasion there would be none to guide me regarding uncooked diet; my experiment is therefore suspended for the while. Eleven people are still holding their ground. Do write to me regularly about your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6790

244. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

[On or after *August 18, 1929*][1]

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got the short letters written by you both. I am content with such short letters.

If you have read any news about my health, you need not get alarmed on that account. It is improving now. I have only to regain some strength. I have given up the experiment of eating uncooked grain. I have resumed milk too and I think, therefore, that I shall not take time to regain my usual strength. I start on a tour from September 7.

Devdas is still in Delhi. Ramdas is in Bardoli and Nimu in Lakhtar. Harilal is in Rajkot just now. The Udyoga Mandir is crowded just now. Many girls have recently joined and, therefore, we face a big problem about the women's education and related matters. Let us wait and see what happens. Just now Gangabehn senior looks after everything.

Prabhudas is here at present and is working with Kakasaheb in the Vidyapith. Did I write to you about this?

I am eager to know what you two have finally decided.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4747

245. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

[Before *August 19, 1929*][2]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have your letter. I replied you by wire to comfort you, in case my letter miscarried. God will certainly give you the courage you need to go to your in-laws', now that you have decided to. My tour of U.P. starts from here on 11th September.

[1] From the reference to giving up "the experiment of eating uncooked grain" and to resuming milk; *vide* pp. 294 & 306.

[2] From the reference to the addressee's willingness to go over to her in-laws', this appears to have been written before the letter dated August 19.

On that day I reach Agra and if you can join me there do come over. I have liked the quotations from the letter from Jayaprakash. He appears to be a clean young man. He is right in asking for himself freedom in regard to khadi. It would be enough if he could be won over by love and reason in this matter.

Many people have turned up, so this is incomplete.

I will write the rest at leisure later. Let me have C. Arrah's address.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3309

246. TELEGRAM TO G. D. BIRLA

SABARMATI,
August 19, 1929

GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
8 ROYAL EXCHANGE, CALCUTTA

COMMENCED CURDS YESTERDAY. NO ANXIETY.

GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 7883. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

247. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Silence Day, August 19, 1929

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I am writing this from my bed. I got dysentery. So I have given up my experiment of uncooked [grain]. I am better today. I shall recover my strength in a few days. There is absolutely no cause for worry. I shall send you my tour programme. I do not have it with me now. I have got your letter. I am now waiting to see what kind of a letter you will get from your in-laws. By God's grace everything will be all right. I hope there was no difficulty; and if you are confronted with one you should get over it.

Yesterday I had to take some curds made out of goat's milk. The doctor thought that without it my dysentery would not be cured. I saw no point in being stubborn. I have destroyed the letter about Jayaprakash. I do not have enough time to try and

recollect the questions just now. If I happen to remember them I shall write the answers [for you].

You should learn as much as you can by yourself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3357

248. TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

Monday [*August 19, 1929*][1]

RAJENDRA PRASAD
KHADI DEPOT, MUZAFFARPUR

PAY SATIS CHANDRA MUKERJEE TWO HUNDRED FIFTY RUPEES MY BEHALF.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15498

249. TELEGRAM TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI[2]

[On or after *August 19, 1929*]

RAJA

AM ADVISING VALLABHBHAI PREPARE GO. UNFIRED CAN NEVER BE DOOMED. GETTING ON.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 15479

[1] This telegram is scribbled in Gandhiji's hand on a sheet of paper entitled "Monday Talks and Instructions", whose date, according to the S.N. Register, is August 19, 1929, which seems to be correct as August 19 was a Monday, and on the same sheet is written in Gandhiji's hand: "I want Harivallabhdas's report on Assam" which obviously refers to the Assam floods. *Vide* p. 296.

A copy of this telegram was sent to Satis Chandra Mukerjee also as just below the above draft telegram Gandhiji has written: "Satis Chandra Mukerjee, C/o" and added: "Now please send these. . . ."

[2] In reply to his telegram dated August 18, received at Sabarmati on August 19, which read: "Convinced no harm will result by reason difference over issue which nobody takes as real. Vallabhbhai's presiding is like your presence important for moral effect. Pray avoid disappointing. Now you have doomed uncooked food for ever hope inflammation subsiding."

250. TELEGRAM TO VALLABHBHAI PATEL[1]

[On or after *August 19, 1929*]

RAJA WIRES AND INSISTS YOU SHOULD PRESIDE. PREPARE GO. COME HERE BEFORE LEAVING.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 15479

251. TELEGRAM TO INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, LAHORE[2]

[On or after *August 19, 1929*]

CONGRESS
LAHORE

YOUR WIRE. WHILST THANKING YOU UNABLE ACCEPT HONOUR. CONSIDER SELF UNFIT. APART FROM WANT OF ENERGY IT IS WELL UNDERSTOOD AM OUT OF TUNE WITH MANY THINGS DONE CONGRESSMEN. MY OCCUPANCY CHAIR CAN ONLY EMBARRASS EVERYBODY INCLUDING MYSELF. PRAY ELECT PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15480

252. TELEGRAM TO KRISHNAGOPAL DUTT[3]

[On or after *August 19, 1929*]

THANKS. CONDITION BETTER. PARTIAL FAST. FRUIT JUICE FOLLOWED NOW BY DILUTED CURDS.

From a photostat: S.N. 15482

[1] This is drafted on the back of the telegram from C. Rajagopalachari; *vide* the preceding item.

[2] In reply to the following telegram dated August 19: "Congress reception committee forty-fourth session elected you president 83 overwhelming majority. Kindly accept."

[3] In reply to his telegram dated August 19, which read: "Wire health Gandhiji what treatment following."

253. *TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ*[1]

[On or after *August 19, 1929*]

UNNECESSARY TROUBLE JIVRAJ JUST NOW.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 15483

254. *TELEGRAM TO M. M. MALAVIYA*[2]

August 20, 1929

MALAVIYAJI

THANKS. PROGRESSING. TAKING CURDS SINCE SUNDAY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15485

255. *LETTER TO SIR K. V. REDDY*[3]

SABARMATI,
August 20, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your very full letter. I have been delayed in replying to it, owing to my peregrinations and then illness from which, by the grace of God, I am recovering.

I do hope that the trade licences matter has been or will be satisfactorily settled. I continue to receive anxious enquiries from South Africa. I am obliged to tell them all that they should worry you and not expect much from here. However, when you think that intensive work here will assist you, you will please tell me.

The news you give me about matters educational is most encouraging. The success of Sastri College must in the end go a long way towards raising our status in South Africa.

[1] In reply to his telegram dated August 18, received on August 19, which read: "Leaving Monday night with doctor Jivraj, unless receive wire contrary."

[2] In reply to his telegram dated August 19, received on August 20, which read: "Very sorry. Hope improving. When doctor advises please resume taking goat milk. Avoid almonds for sometime."

[3] Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa

STATE CENTRAL LIBRARY

I know how true you are when you tell me about our people's apathy in matters in which they are expected to exert themselves. I know even in our time the difficulties of the poor vegetable hawkers. It was their amazing industry that I thought enabled them to walk long distances early in the morning and dispose of, in the best manner they could, their produce before 9 a.m. May success attend your effort on their behalf.

Thank you for interesting yourself in Manilal and his wife. I hope they are helpful.

Yours sincerely,

From a copy: C.W. 9241. Courtesy: S. V. Subba Rao

256. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU

[On or after *August 20, 1929*][1]

BOTH WIRES RECEIVED. THANK GOD FOR KAMALA. REPLYING CONGRESS MESSAGE LAHORE[2] SAID COULD NOT PRESIDE AS AM OUT OF TUNE MUCH GOING ON UNDER CONGRESS NAME. HAVE AGAIN RECOMMENDED JAWAHAR'S NAME.[3] SEE NO USE MY PRESIDING.[4]

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15494

[1] One of the addressee's telegrams to which this appears to be a reply was dated August 20. It read: "Strongly recommended your accepting presidentship. Kamala progressing. Am returning Allahabad tonight."

[2] *Vide* p. 303.

[3] A telegram from Jawaharlal Nehru dated August 21 read: "Beg of you not to press my name for presidentship" (S.N. 15496).

[4] Motilal Nehru's telegram dated August 21 in reply to this read: "Your telegram. Consider your reason for refusal strong reason for acceptance and reorganizing Congress on correct lines. Besides forcing Jawahar on country against its will unfair both to Jawahar and country" (S.N. 15497).

257. *UNFIRED FOOD*[1]

Instead of hopeful progress I have to report a tragedy this week. In spite of great carefulness in experimentation along an unbeaten track, I have been laid low. A mild but persistent attack of dysentery has sent me to bed and not only to cooked food but also to goat's milk. Dr. Harilal Desai used all his skill and patience to save me from having to go back to milk, which I had left last November in the hope of not having to go back to it, but he saw that he could not reduce the mucus and the traces of blood that persistently appeared in the bowels without making me take curds. At the time of writing this therefore I have had two portions of curds, with what effect I shall note at the foot of this article which is being written on Sunday[2] night.

It appears that I was not digesting the raw foods I was taking, and what I had mistaken for good motions were precursors of dysentery. The other conditions including vitality being good, I had no cause to suspect any evil.

My companions too have one after another fallen off, except four, of whom one has been on raw food for nearly a year with great success as he thinks.

The companions have left off because they were feeling weak and were losing weight week by week.

Thus Sjt. Gopalrao's claim that unfired food is suitable for any stomach and can be taken with impunity by young and old, sick and healthy, is to say the least of it 'unproven'. This apparent failure should serve as a warning to the zealots that they should move most cautiously and be scrupulously exact in their statements and careful in their deductions.

I call the failure apparent, because I have the same faith in unfired food today that I first had nearly forty years ago. The failure is due to my gross ignorance of the practice of unfired food and of right combinations. Some of its good results are really striking. No one has suffered seriously. My dysentery has been painless. Every doctor who has examined me has found me otherwise in better health than before. For my companions I have been a blind guide leading the blind. I have sadly missed

[1] An article similar to this appeared in *Navajivan*, 25-8-1929, under the title "Food Untouched by Fire".

[2] August 18, 1929

the guidance of someone who has known the virtue of unfired food and who would have the patience of a scientist.

But if I regain my health and have a little leisure, I hope to revert to the experiment with better hope in that I shall know what mistakes to avoid. As a searcher for Truth I deem it necessary to find the perfect food for a man to keep body, mind and soul in a sound condition. I believe that the search can only succeed with unfired food, and that in the limitless vegetable kingdom there is an effective substitute for milk, which, every medical man admits, has its drawbacks and which is designed by nature not for man but for babies and young ones of lower animals. I should count no cost too dear for making a search which in my opinion is so necessary from more points of view than one; therefore I still seek information and guidance from kindred spirits. To those who are not in sympathy with this phase of my life and who out of their love for me are anxious about me, I give my assurance that I shall not embark upon any experiment that would endanger my other activities. I am of opinion that though I have been making such experiments since the age of 18, I have not often suffered from serious illness and have been able to preserve tolerably good health. But I would also like them to feel with me that so long as God wants me for any work on this earth, He will preserve me from harm and prevent me from going too far.

Those who are making the experiment must not give it up because of the temporary check I have received. Let them learn from the causes of my failure.

1. If there is the slightest danger of insufficient mastication, let the ingredients be finely pulverized and dissolved in the mouth instead of being swallowed.

2. If there is an undissolved residue in the mouth, it must be put out.

3. Grains and pulses should be used sparingly.

4. Green vegetables should be well washed and scraped before being used and should also be used sparingly.

5. Fresh and dried fruits (soaked) and nuts should be the staples at least in the beginning stages.

6. Milk should not be given up till the unfired foods have been taken without any harm for a sufficiently long period. All the literature I have read points to fruits and nuts with only a small quantity of green vegetables as a perfect food.

(I am able to report on Tuesday morning that diluted curds are working well.)

Young India, 22-8-1929

258. TOWARDS A PROPER WHEEL

I gladly publish the foregoing well-thought-out specification[1]. I wish that many young men will evince in the spinning-wheel the interest that Sjt. Hiralal Amritlal Shah has. His preoccupations and his business have not prevented him from studying the movement with close attention. He has sent me a drawing to accompany the specification. I am unable to publish it, at any rate this week, as the article came into my hands just at the time of sending the last *Young India* matter to the printers.

Young India, 22-8-1929

259. REPORTERS A NUISANCE

The recently published Press report that my weight was reduced to 80 lb. and that I had fainted was utterly baseless but it succeeded in giving a fright to probably hundreds of well-wishers. I have wires from all over India, including Burma, making anxious inquiries. On more than one occasion Press agencies have in my case rendered themselves liable to legal action by giving currency to false and harmful news. Often has my anger against them got the better, for a moment, of my non-co-operation. It is cruel to give a shock to the credulous public by spreading false reports. Good faith and ignorance are no excuse when thousands of men and women are concerned. Reporters are bound to take every precaution possible to ensure accuracy. In the case in point it was easy enough to ask a responsible person at the Udyoga Mandir or Dr. Harilal Desai as to my exact condition and much grief and anxiety could have been avoided. I suggest to the agencies that they warn their reporters that they would be fined or dismissed for repeated offences of the character I have described.

Young India, 22-8-1929

[1] Not reproduced here

260. OUR CHOICE

An American correspondent has sent me a cutting from an old number of *The World Tomorrow* (August 1928). It is a remarkable article on "Pacifism and National Security" by John Nevin Sayre which is worthy of perusal by every patriot. The following opening paragraphs[1] show which way the writer would lead us:

> Pacifism, first of all, asks people to consider whether national armament can really conduce to security in a civilization which uses the tools of twentieth century science. No matter what may be said for defence by armament in the past, we believe that it is an utterly obsolete and extremely dangerous way of attempting to attain security now. In the world in which we live and in the decades immediately ahead, it is open to the double objection of (1) mounting cost and (2) diminishing effectiveness for defence.
>
> . . . every time the hands of the clock traverse twenty-four hours, the United States spends £2,000,000 [on] upkeep for army and navy. . . .
>
> There is also an increasing human cost not measurable in dollars. . . . today military strategists plan to conscript the activity of the entire manpower of a nation. . . . Compulsory military training in time of peace and the invasion of schools and colleges by military departments run by the Department of War are requisitioning study time of youth, and tending to regiment youth's thinking. The post office, the newspapers, the radio, the movies, artists and men of science are in danger of being drawn in to give their support to the building of war's preparedness machine. All this means an increasing cost to human liberty, to freedom of thought and discussion, to the possibility of social advance. . . .
>
> Even worse is the fact that increase of expenditure for armament does not in the modern world purchase increase of security. It may do so, possibly, for a score of years, but the policy is subject to a law of diminishing returns and leads straight towards a climax of disaster. Senator Borah in discussing 'What is Preparedness?' recently called attention to the huge public debts and constantly increasing tax burdens which governments are putting on their peoples throughout the world. . . .

The fashion nowadays is to take for granted that whatever America and England are doing is good enough for us. But the figures given by the writer of the cost to America of her armament

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

are too terrible to contemplate. War has become a matter of money and resourcefulness in inventing weapons of destruction. It is no longer a matter of personal bravery or endurance. To compass the destruction of men, women and children, it might be enough for me to press a button and drop poison on them in a second.

Do we wish to copy this method of defending ourselves? Even if we do, have we the financial ability? We complain of ever-growing military expenditure. But if we would copy America or England, we would have to increase the burden tenfold.

'Why not, if the thing is worth doing?' asks the critic. The question then is, 'Is it worth doing?' Mr. Sayre answers emphatically and says, "It is not worth doing for any nation." I say nothing about our so-called naval or military programme when it is resisted by the Government. The nation cannot be kept on the non-violent path by violence. It must grow from within to the state it may aspire to. The question therefore for us to consider is, 'What is our immediate aspiration?' Do we first want to copy the Western nations and then in the dim and distant future after having gone through the agony, retrace our steps? Or do we want to strike out an original path or rather retain what to me is our own predominantly peaceful path and therethrough win and assert our freedom?

Here there is no question of compromise with cowardice. Either we train and arm ourselves for destruction, be it in self-defence, and in the process train for suffering too, or we merely prepare ourselves for suffering for defending the country or delivering it from domination. In either case bravery is indispensable. In the first case personal bravery is not of such importance as in the second. In the second case too we shall perhaps never be able to do without violence altogether. But violence then will be subservient to non-violence and will always be a diminishing factor in national life.

At the present moment, though the national creed is one of non-violence, in thought and word at least we seem to be drifting towards violence. Impatience pervades the atmosphere. We are restrained from violence through our weakness. What is wanted is a deliberate giving up of violence out of strength. To be able to do this requires imagination coupled with a penetrating study of the world drift. Today the superficial glamour of the West dazzles us, and we mistake for progress the giddy dance which engages us from day to day. We refuse to see that it is surely leading us to death. Above all we must recognize that to compete with the Western nations on their terms is to court suicide. Where-

as if we realize that notwithstanding the seeming supremacy of violence it is the moral force that governs the universe, we should train for non-violence with the fullest faith in its limitless possibilities. Everybody recognizes that if non-violent atmosphere had been maintained in 1922 we could have completely gained our end. Even as it is, we had a striking demonstration of the efficacy of non-violence, crude though it was, and the substance of swaraj then gained has never been lost. The paralysing fear that had possessed the nation before the advent of satyagraha has gone once for all. In my opinion therefore non-violence is a matter of patient training. If we are to be saved and are to make a substantial contribution to the world's progress, ours must emphatically and predominantly be the way of peace.

Young India, 22-8-1929

261. NOTES

A Worthy Sacrifice

Sjt. Purushottamdas Tandon has given up the lucrative post of manager of a premier bank in order to join the Servants of the People Society founded by Lala Lajpat Rai of revered memory. Lalaji had made rigid rules. No life member could engage in any lucrative work. Sjt. Purushottamdas Tandon was a dear comrade of the deceased patriot, and this sacrifice is in obedience to the call of duty towards a deceased leader. What is however a great step for us is nothing in the estimation of Sjt. Purushottamdas Tandon. He has been used to making sacrifices. For many years past he has ceased to believe in making money for its own sake. He has been progressively simplifying his life. But there were family obligations he could not shirk unless he could carry with him in his own evolution towards the higher life the members for whom he was responsible. He has now evidently got over the difficulties and the way has been clear for him to take the final plunge. By such only are nations made. I congratulate Lalaji's Society on the event. Do the public deserve such sacrifice? The amount that was asked for in the Lalaji Memorial has not yet been fully subscribed. That the paltry sum of five lakhs has not yet been subscribed in respect of a memorial to one of the noblest of Indians is a sad reflection. Let me hope Sjt. Purushottamdas Tandon's sacrifice will spur the lethargic to action and evoke a response adequate to the occasion.

DESOLATION IN SIND

Sind has had a second disaster. I have purposely refrained from saying a word hitherto. The floods have this time wrought greater mischief than before. Only familiarity has made us indifferent. The distress however is not less felt by the afflicted on that account. Professor Malkani has sent me some harrowing details of the havoc wrought by the floods. The latest news is that cholera has followed in the wake of the floods. I suggest to the donors who have been sending donations for the Assam flood relief that they combine their donations for both the areas and leave me to apportion the amounts in the best manner I know. And unless henceforth the amounts received are specially earmarked for one or the other list, I shall treat the donation as jointly for both. Whatever is received for Sind will be disbursed through Professor Malkani. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has already sent Rs. 10,000 out of the late Gujarat Famine Fund.

Young India, 22-8-1929

262. 'THE OLD STORY'

THE EDITOR, "YOUNG INDIA"

SIR,

In your issue of the 25th instant you deal with the oppression by revenue officials, and whilst putting the blame on the Government on account of the system in force, you recognize that acts of oppression are committed on cultivators "by their own kith and kin". Further on in your leader you say that unless the present system of administration is completely changed, "the oppression of the people will continue unabated even when the reins of Government have passed into Indian hands". Two things therefore appear to be necessary: first, alteration in the Land Revenue Rules providing for closer consideration of the condition and interests of cultivators which can and ought to be secured by agitation and representation in the Councils, and second, a 'change of heart' — an expression much favoured when making demands on the conscience of Government — in those who, being the kith and kin of the cultivator, now exercise their petty power in the direction of oppression, often to secure their own ends. It is much to be feared that the second measure will be the more difficult to secure. . . .

Would you essay an improvement, Sir? Start ryotwari tenants' associations and limit their activities to educating the ryots as to their rights. Then fight their cause in Councils, and finally, discourage them in the

consumption of liquor, not as a weapon against what it pleases some to call the 'satanic Government' but as a measure of moral uplift of the poor but lovable, over-labouring cultivator.

30th July 1929 J'AI ACCUSE

This letter[1] is from a well-known Anglo-Indian settler. His accusation is as old as the British rule. The accuser forgets that it is the system that is bad. What does it matter whether it is worked by the puggree or the sola hat? And it should be remembered that from the Patel to the Deputy Commissioner, they are all nurtured in the same traditions and have often been known to do better than their teachers. Those who carry out the tyrant's will often outdo the latter in the execution of his designs. So long as the system continues to be top heavy and the tallest Indian administrators have to remain subservient to the imperious will of a white chief whether in Simla or Whitehall, the evils 'J'ai Accuse' draws attention to will continue.

Young India, 22-8-1929

263. A PAINFUL STORY

A gentleman writes from Ramgarh (Jaipur):[2]

One comes across such tragic incidents all over India. They would seem to be more common among the well-to-do. For even very old men of this class want to marry and when they die it is considered honourable to keep the girl in perpetual widowhood. The question of religion does not arise here at all. This is the reason why such cases are to be found more in the Marwari and Bhatia communities, etc., than among others. There is only one remedy for this evil. One should start in every community a peaceful agitation to rouse public feeling against such evils. When this happens old men will not dare to marry again and young girls will not be condemned to widowhood. Besides, once public opinion has been created no one will support the custom of keeping child-widows in perpetual widowhood and blaming it on fate or the sins of a previous birth. When a young man happens to lose his wife no one stops him from remarrying by bringing in the argument of the sins of a previous birth. My advice to the reformers is not to lose heart. They should remain firm in their duty and go

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had written about a girl of twelve who had been widowed within two months of marriage.

ahead with faith and self-confidence. Of course they must remember that this work cannot be accomplished by merely delivering speeches. They may even have to resort to satyagraha. I have given my views concerning the scope of satyagraha in previous issues. The darkness that is child-widowhood cannot but vanish before the sun of satyagraha, for in the dictionary of satyagraha there is no such word as 'failure'.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 22-8-1929

264. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

August 22, 1929

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I am delighted over Kamala's operation. I hope she will be fully restored now.

You may depend upon my not unduly pressing your name on the country. I felt bound to express my opinion to the committee at Lahore in reply to their wire.[1] It is enough for your self-respect that you do not want the crown. It is an ugly business for anybody this time. I have simply pressed your name as of a principle. If the country is not ready to assert that principle, we can wait.

If you are not to be the helmsman, the only alternative I can think of at this juncture is re-election of Father, or failing that, of Dr. Ansari. Can you think of any other name?

I am preparing for the U.P. tour. I am daily recovering lost strength. I am in no way sorry for my experiment from which I have learnt a lot.

Yours,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* p. 303.

265. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

August 22, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. I have no time left after attending to my illness, so I content myself by thinking [of you]. I am recovering strength. I take plenty of curds.

Do you have peace of mind there? How is your health? Have you regular motions? How is your appetite? Do you feel strong? Can you go for a walk?

Surajbehn has arrived from Bombay today. There is at present a crowd of other people too.

I am expecting a detailed letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9261; also C.W. 508. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

266. *TELEGRAM TO RAJA OF KALAKANKAR*[1]

[On or after *August 22, 1929*]

THANKS WIRE. HEALTH SATISFACTORY. PROGRESSING.

From a photostat: S.N. 15500

267. *LETTER TO HORACE ALEXANDER*

August 23, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter.

I expect nothing but hindrance generally from the India Office to the crusade against opium and drink. The reply you have sent me therefore does not surprise me.

When Mr. Silcock comes, he shall most surely receive a warm welcome.

[1] In reply to his telegram dated August 22, which read: "Anxious to know welfare. Wire health."

Of the young friend, I have already written to you. Of course he may come and stay here if it suits him.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: G.N. 1408

268. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

August 23, 1929

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

I have your letter. Do give up worrying on my account. People fall sick even when they take regular diet. What does it matter if the same happens to me in the pursuit of truth? I am taking plenty of curds these days. May I tell you that even milk and curds are admissible only to a certain extent. They are not man's natural food. The argument you advance in support of milk is the same as that in support of beef-tea and liquor because some physical benefit is derived for the time being from all of them. But physical benefit [is not] everything. The abatement of carnal desires experienced by so many people while taking raw cereals is not the result of starvation. During the four years I was on fruit diet I used to walk forty miles daily and experienced the same mental peace. But I do not wish to emphasize this point overmuch. The mere physical benefit is not the only consideration in my experiment. I shall not change over hastily to raw cereals nor shall I give up milk in a hurry. At the moment many doctors are taking interest in this experiment. Many have sent me literature [on this subject]. If I resume the experiment it shall be under Dr. Haribhai's supervision.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6175. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

269. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY, RECEPTION COMMITTEE, U.P. TRADE UNION CONFERENCE, KANPUR[1]

[On or after *August 23, 1929*]

PLEASE CONSULT PANDIT JAWAHARLAL. PROGRAMME HIS HAND[S].

From a photostat: S.N. 15503

270. TELEGRAM TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA[2]

[Before *August 24, 1929*]

SATISBABU
KHADI PRATISHTHAN
SODEPUR

YOUR ASTOUNDING LETTER.[3] NEVER DREAMT HEMPRABHA DEVI'S LETTER BUSINESS LETTER. KRISHNADAS SUGGESTION MISCHIEVOUS. MUST KNOW WHAT NIRANJAN SAID. YOU MUST NOT BE HYPERSENSITIVE. NEVER LISTEN OTHER PEOPLE'S VERSIONS ESPECIALLY WHEN PARTIES CONCERNED ALIVE.

BAPU

All the three wires go together. Show me after preparation.

From a microfilm: S.N. 15194-b

[1] In reply to the addressee's telegram received on August 23, which read: "Reception Committee U.P. Trade Union Conference requests you join session 14th, 15th September and accept labourers' humble purse. Wire acceptance."

[2] This telegram and the following item appear to have been sent on the same day before Gandhiji wrote to the addressee on August 24.

[3] *Vide* Appendix II.

271. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

[Before *August 24, 1929*]

MY DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have wired about your astounding letter.

I know nothing about any business letter from Hemprabhadevi. Even if she wrote a business letter, I should take a long time before taking it as such. As it is, her letters to me have been all love and no business. Your business letters too have been love letters for me. Such I have believed to be the relations between you and me. I had never thought you to be capable of misunderstanding me. Krishnadas's other suggestion seems to me to be equally mischievous. How he has drawn deductions passes my comprehension. His behaviour is inscrutable. Your taking him on trust regarding my doings and without reference to me is painful. I can say nothing of Niranjan till you tell me what he has told you. You should take it from me that I have told them nothing that I have not told you about your decision regarding Ram Binod.

You may come and see me about this if you are still not satisfied. Henceforth in all matters no matter who is concerned, never believe telltales. And those are telltales who regale their company with irrelevant tales about others. Again never believe anything against anybody without first referring the damaging statement to him. So you remember what I did when I heard unworthy suggestions about Dadabhai?

Say now you owe me ten thousand apologies for being so cruel as to believe things of me of which I have not ever dreamt.

With love,

BAPU

[PS.]

My health [is] improving.

From a photostat: G.N. 1607

272. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

August 24, 1929

MY DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your note. I cannot make out how Niranjan thought that I was irritated on your account. All I can tell you is that you have never given me cause for irritation. I have doubted often the soundness of your judgment, never your motive. Irritation can only come when the motive is questioned.

Subhas Babu will never pardon the loin-cloth. We must bear with him. He cannot help himself. He believes in himself and in his mission. He must work it out as we must ours.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1608

273. LETTER TO M. R. JAYAKAR

August 24, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

There was no need for apology for your letter.[1] You are right in assuming that I could not be unaware of the difficulties you have mentioned in your letter. I went to Mr. Jinnah as Mrs. Naidu had arranged the interview. I think it was my duty. But I have bound nobody. I have no representative capacity even if I wished to bind anybody. I simply listened to Mr. Jinnah's exposition of his position. Similarly with the Ali Brothers too, I heard what they had to say. With the latter, the talk turned upon their grievance against me for my reticence.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Jayakar's Private Papers, Correspondence File No. 407-VI. Courtesy: National Archives of India

[1] *Vide* Appendix III.

274. *A KATHIAWARI'S WAIL*[1]

An enraged Kathiawari youth writes:[2]

> I must painfully tell you that you have put us in a very awkward fix by sealing our lips, and unless you release us from this disability you will unman us altogether. Even the restrictions imposed by Sjt. Mansukhlal which you decried were far more liberal than the disabilities that you have now imposed. . . . Is it not rather curious that whereas in British India the slightest wrong is enough to make you flare up in righteous indignation, you won't allow even a single condemnatory syllable to be uttered against any individual State though it might perpetrate the worst tyranny on its innocent ryots? It is time that you reconsidered your self-denying ordinance. And if you cannot withdraw it altogether you should at least revise it to the extent of restoring the liberty to protest against cases of "flagrant injustice". Remember, at Bhavnagar you undertook to obtain a redress of our grievances. Now that you have been disappointed in your efforts, does it not become your sacred duty to ventilate those questions before the public? But that duty you have not discharged yet and have prevented others from discharging. That is why we are today ground down by oppression. Freedom of public discussion is our sacred and inalienable right and you ought to teach the Kathiawar public to exercise that right. But you are doing just the reverse and by your curious silence are in fact conniving at the wrong. In moments of despair, I am tempted to charge you with showing an undue partiality towards the States. . . .
>
> Won't you remember and make good the promise you made at Bhavnagar?

The Kathiawari friend in question has an undoubted right to write to me as he has done, just as it is my duty to give a patient hearing to what the youth might have to say. Every duty performed confers upon one certain rights, whilst the exercise of every right carries with it certain corresponding obligations. And so the never-ending cycle of duty and right goes ceaselessly on. In the present case for instance the Kathiawari youth began by exercising his right to pour forth his grief to me. I discharge my duty by giving him a patient hearing, with the result that the right to speak out my mind to the Kathiawari youth has now accrued to me, and it is the duty of the Kathiawari youth in

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 25-8-1929. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

question to hear and try inwardly to digest and assimilate what I might have to say.

I very well remember the promise I made at Bhavnagar. I have not yet lost hope. My efforts still continue, but their result is not in my hands, but in the hands of God who alone controls results. Nor is it necessary that my efforts in this direction should be before the public or involve my personally meeting the rulers in question. They may or may not even be direct, indeed they may begin and end with a heart-felt prayer. Let no one laugh at this. I want to enter into no special pleading on my behalf. I mention this method of work because it is part and parcel of my life. For years together in South Africa my efforts consisted practically only in waiting and prayer, and it is my firm conviction that that period of silent prayer was the most fruitful for that work. It constituted the bedrock on which whatever little was accomplished was based. Even today, perhaps I may be said to be doing nothing tangible for the attainment of Hindu-Muslim unity, yet it is my claim that I am striving for it ceaselessly. Even so in the matter of the Indian States. I am always on the look-out for an opportunity. Opportunities have always come to me for the waiting and praying. Let no one therefore be led away to think that I have ceased to concern myself about the question of the Indian States or to do anything in that behalf.

But I know that the impatient reader can judge my efforts only in the light of concrete tangible results. He may therefore well feel angry if he fails to understand my way of doing things. I must hold my soul in patience.

I may not here enter into a discussion of Mansukhlal's restrictions. My opinion in that respect has not undergone the least change. But circumstances alter cases. I have simply laid down the indispensable conditions for the holding of conferences in the Indian States. If such conferences must be held at all without observing these restrictions, I maintain that it is not possible as yet to hold conferences within the boundaries of the States.

But these restrictions apply to conferences only, they do not affect individual action. Anyone in his individual capacity has always perfect liberty to criticize as much as he likes any Indian prince, subject only to the measure of his own strength and considerations of sobriety and common sense.

Again I have never suggested that individual rulers of Indian States may never be criticized or that conferences untrammelled by any restrictions may not be held at all. On the contrary I hold that there is nothing improper in holding in British territory confe-

rences at which individual States may be freely criticized. There is also the undoubted right of the subjects of any State to criticize the administration of that State within its own border. That this right is not fully exercised today is a matter of deep sorrow.

It is true that personally I do not through *Navajivan* or otherwise criticize individual rulers. But that is a different matter altogether. I claim to be a practical man. I have got a fair measure of my strength and I know how to conserve it. I have deliberately cultivated the habit of avoiding a useless or superfluous word. I do not hesitate unsparingly to denounce all wrongs great and small in British territory because I know that such denunciation is backed by consciousness of potential strength. In the case of the States, though I am not unaware of the terrible things going on in some of them, I have no strength to back my exposure of the wrongs.

I disclaim any undue partiality for the States. At the same time I owe them no grudge; I do not desire their destruction. There is an abundant scope for reform in them which it should not be impossible to effect today. But it is my firm belief that it is impossible to reform the States in the true sense while India is in bondage. It may be possible to obtain redress here and there in cases of flagrant injustice by leading a crusade against it. But such tinkering does not interest me. It gives me no satisfaction. I am therefore today concentrating all my energy on the root evil. If I can effectively touch the root the branches will in time drop down of their own accord. Whereas on the contrary to divert public attention from the root evil and mobilize it against the branch evils in the States would mean lending an additional lease of life to the former. That is a risk that I for one am not prepared to run.

Let no one, however, understand me to mean from this that no action whatsoever is at present possible in the case of the States. I shall repeat here what I have already said. Wherever the subjects of States are ready for it they can and ought to organize an agitation against maladministration in that State especially if they have the strength to make use of the never-failing weapon of satyagraha. But it is a matter of deep sorrow to me that today the ruled are often tools in the hands of wicked rulers. Grinding oppression has rendered the people nerveless. No one has yet been able to save goats from the clutches of tigers. The goats' emancipation would be possible only if one could envisage the goat world itself giving birth to its would-be emancipator. Though reduced to the position of the goat man is today in this country, especially in the States, all hope is not lost for him. He belongs

to a higher species. Strength lies dormant in the weak. If they find an environment in which bipeds exactly like them exhibit strength, it is not unlikely that they will catch the infection. Bardoli was only a modest forerunner—a beam from the powerful sun. If Bardoli exhibited the full strength and qualifications necessary for full satyagraha, its example would spread throughout the length and breadth of the land, and we should find ourselves, including the people of the States, a free nation.

Young India, 29-8-1929

275. MY NOTES

Evil-minded Government

Bhai Mahadev has given in this issue a summary of some noteworthy correspondence between Sardar Vallabhbhai and the Government on the report[1] presented by the official inquiry committee on Bardoli and Chorasi. It is worth pondering over. There are two points in it: one about redressing the injustice done to several villages through oversight, and the other about the benefits, if any, likely to accrue to Bardoli and Chorasi as a result of the new changes proposed to be made by the Government. The Government has returned a negative reply in regard to both the matters. It would not even hear the plea of injustice. It is not willing to concede the benefits of future changes. Even if a rope is burnt, its twist endures.[2] The Government is aware that, if it cannot remove through negotiations the injustice done to certain villages, the Sardar will definitely not have recourse to a weapon like satyagraha. Such a weapon cannot be used in this way. Being thus free from fear the Government declines to do justice. Because of its policy of not doing justice until its hands are forced, the Government has become unpopular and is becoming more so. The officials are not inclined to understand the simple thing that the Government does not stand to suffer any loss if a slightly reduced revenue was received from three or four villages. Their "prestige"[3] stands in the way. The other thing concerns the future. Just as we cannot launch satyagraha for the sake of particular villages only, we cannot but do so if the future benefits do not go to Bardoli and Chorasi. Then satyagraha will become

[1] The Broomfield-Maxwell Report

[2] A Gujarati saying

[3] The English word is used.

inevitable. Hence the Sardar has told the Government politely but firmly that, if the new legislation proves to be beneficial and if Bardoli and Chorasi do not receive its benefits, satyagraha will surely be launched for their sake. There is one small legal loophole in the case of the villages of Bardoli. The Sardar cannot expose it, but if it exposes itself, the above-mentioned villages can perhaps take advantage of it.

Therefore, it is a different matter if the loophole exposes itself. Else those villages should be ready to put up with this injustice and if it becomes necessary to launch satyagraha, Bardoli should be ready for it. No one knows when the future will become the present. The legislation which the Government had promised to enact has hung fire for a number of years. But Bardoli has yet to discharge its original debt. The swaraj *yajna* commenced by Bardoli has still remained unfinished. If it gets ready to complete it, there is no need even to talk of the miniature satyagraha of the future.

Another Temple Thrown Open

Thanks to Shri Jamnalalji's efforts, the famous Lakshminarayan Temple at Wardha was thrown open to *Antyaja* brothers and sisters. Now owing to his efforts, even the well-known Dattatreya Temple at Elichpur in Berar has been thrown open. Elichpur was the old capital of Berar. It has even today a population of 38,000. At a public meeting held on July 1, the temple was thrown open. Dr. Patwardhan of Amaraoti presided over the meeting. The ceremony of declaring the temple open was performed by Jamnalalji. The temple was built fifteen years ago at a cost of Rs. 83,000. Its management is in the hands of a committee of twenty-four members. The resolution to throw it open to the *Antyajas* was voted by eighteen out of twenty-four. There are five trustees, all of whom were unanimous in regard to the decision to throw it open. Now this signboard adorns the temple gate:

> This temple is thrown open from today for free access to Mangs, Mahars, Chamars and all Hindus alike for purposes of *darshan*, *bhajan*, for offering worship and prayers and for attending religious discourses, etc.

This temple was erected by the efforts of Swami Vimalanand. The Swamiji was present on the auspicious occasion. At the time of declaring the temple open, Jamnalalji entered the temple with about fifty *Antyajas*. Jamnalalji and Vinoba Bhave of the Satyagraha Ashram, Wardha, delivered the main speeches on the occasion.

I congratulate the citizens of Elichpur, the trustees and Jamnalalji on this event. I can well imagine the joy of the

Antyaja brethren at that time. Why should they not rejoice over securing that which Hindu society had till now deprived them of and which they had always hankered after? But this is only a beginning, a drop in the ocean. There are lakhs of Hindu temples in India. As long as the doors of every one of the public temples do not open to our *Antyaja* brethren, so long will the followers of Hinduism remain discredited and be unable to stand boldly before the world. By boycotting the *Antyajas* Hindu society itself has been boycotted by the world. Let it learn from Elichpur and Wardha how to get out of that boycott.

BHANGI BRETHREN OF BULSAR

I have received a sad letter[1] about this which runs as follows.

If what is stated is true, it should put the Bulsar Municipality and the citizens of Bulsar to shame. It is to be regretted that a responsible body or responsible individual should remain indifferent where matters can be improved with a little money and much smaller efforts. How sad is it that the Bhangi brothers and sisters have to pull on in hope and to pay for water which rich people can get gratis and with ease? If these facts are true, the Municipality and citizens of Bulsar will, I hope, strive to set things right at once.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 25-8-1929

276. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

August 25, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. You cannot claim the right to commit errors simply because I make some mistakes of language. If I lose my teeth, should you have yours extracted? My lack of knowledge was tolerated but my successors' would not be. My health is now all right. I am recovering strength. You should

[1] Not translated here. The municipality and its officers had done nothing to release them from the clutches of Pathan money-lenders or from difficulties about residential quarters. They still had to pay for water. The so-called respectable citizens of Bulsar had turned a blind eye to their woes. The correspondent eulogized the services rendered to the Bhangis by Navsari Municipality and hoped that Bulsar would emulate that example.

stubbornly keep up your walking. It is now raining heavily here. My diet consists mainly of curds.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. VASUMATIBEHN
UDYOGA MANDIR, VIJAPUR
VIJAPUR OF GAEKWAR *via* KALOL

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9262; also C.W. 509. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

277. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Silence Day, August 26, 1929

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I get your letters regularly. You should shake off your worry. You should learn to win peace from perturbation. External circumstances are seldom what we desire. But it is within our power to train our mind to overcome circumstances. Even in adverse circumstances one should find occasions for rendering service. We should have only love for those who oppose us.

You will yourself arrange for your visit to Agra, won't you? Whom could I write to from here? You have to be courageous and find your own way. God will of course help you.

My health is steadily improving. I take only milk or curds; also fruits. I go for short walks too. I had not stopped writing and spinning altogether. So you are not to worry at all on my account.

I have written about your studies.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3354

278. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

August 26, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

No independent work can be assigned to Shivabhai, but if he wishes to live in the Udyoga Mandir he may, making his own arrangements, as he agreed to yesterday. Ask me more about this if you want to.

BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15510

279. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

August 26, 1929

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

What have you done about the auditing of tne Bengal Congress Committee [accounts]?

Yours,
MOHANDAS

SJT. GHANSHYAMDAS BIRLA
BIRLA COTTON SPINNING & WEAVING MILLS, LTD.
SUBZI MANDI, DELHI

From Hindi: C.W. 6176. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

280. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

August 27, 1929

BHAISHRI MADHAVJI,

You are certainly going on well with your experiment. Do not insist on not taking fruits with milk. But do continue it so long as it agrees with you. It will do you no harm at all.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR
178 LOWER CHITPORE ROAD, CALCUTTA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6791

281. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. We had as usual the recitation of the whole *Gita* today because of Janmashtami. On this occasion I thought much about all the members of our Ashram. The recitation was performed with great enthusiasm and in a very sweet tone; it was interspersed with *stotras*. Being held at daytime others too could read and this made the singing all the sweeter.

We have no rain today. After many days there is a little sunshine, perhaps you too have some relief today. Most of us are today on a fruit diet. Even if only one or two women take to carding, others will follow suit. Govindji should be relieved of other duties except carding and you should make him do this work. I am accordingly arranging to send someone from here. All of you should read this letter. My health is all right. It is certain, at any rate so far, that we start on the 6th. Today we are going to have *bhajans* in the evening at 7 o'clock. Panditji's band will also play. Ba sends her blessings to all.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9263; also C.W. 510. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

282. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1929

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I have your letter. I am gradually improving. I see no need for you to come. I have written to Bhai Jawaharlal regarding the address. He comes here tomorrow evening. We have had a telegram.

He will leave this place in the evening, day after tomorrow. I take it that you will start the welcome from Viramgam onwards. It is not possible for me to come. Kaka is in Bombay.

Anasuyabehn can hardly go. I shall see if someone else could be sent,

You are all competent to explain the condition of Kathiawar. There is Revashankerbhai too. I do hope you have invited people from all groups. They should all be given freedom to see and say what they want to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2859. Courtesy: Sharadabehn Shah

283. *LETTER TO DHARAMSIMHA BHANJI KHOJA*

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1929

BHAISHRI DHARAMSIMHA,

What you write about khadi appears to be correct. Khadi made from mill-yarn would not do, because hand-spinning is our basis, our focal point. Occasionally I do speak out something about mechanization. As regards the native States see the current issue of *Navajivan*.[1] What you write about ghee and milk is quite correct. Ginning is certainly coming to life in the footsteps of spinning. If an occasion comes up in the Ashram a widow remarriage may be celebrated by all means. But things cannot be brought about by force. Being beyond attributes God deserves to be called even by seemingly contradictory epithets such as 'without attributes', 'full of good qualities', 'immutable', 'ever-changing', etc. It is best not to become a soldier but having once taken up this profession, a soldier forfeits his right to consider whether a battle is right or wrong. Many ask for a contents [column] in *Navajivan*. Accepting contributions too is a necessary aspect of *Navajivan*. We have drafted a scheme under which the profits accruing to the *Navajivan* firm may be utilized mainly for the *Navajivan* staff.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

I could not revise this.

SJT. DHARAMSIMHA BHANJI KHOJA
VICCHIA, KATHIAWAR

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 19847

[1] *Vide* pp. 320-3.

284. LETTER TO NANABHAI MASHRUWALA

ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
August 28, 1929

BHAISHRI NANABHAI,

I have your letter. My health is steadily improving. I know of all the arguments in favour of accepting the presidentship, but what should I do if I cannot summon the courage? I have left everything to God. He will do what He wants to.

It seems now after all Sushila has got somewhat reconciled to the name 'Sita'. She makes no complaints nowadays.

I hope you are well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6679

285. THE ANGLO-INDIAN

Some Anglo-Indian friends have often complained to me that I do not give the Anglo-Indian friends sufficient notice in these columns. I have always repudiated the charge. It is not my lukewarmness towards them that I do not often mention them in *Young India*. Indeed I have the honour to have many friends among them. My conception of swaraj requires the same consideration for them as for any other group. Only they stand in little need of any advocacy in these columns. Those who are despised in the country, those who are neglected by the Government or those whose interests are hostile to those of the Government claim a lien upon these columns. Just as Englishmen do not need the protection of these columns, so do the powerful Anglo-Indian interests stand in no need of it. I can mention several such indigenous interests that stand in little need of the assistance of *Young India*. But this general assurance I have tendered more than once that in these columns there never would be any sacrifice advocated or encouraged of a single legitimate interest.

I note in the constitution of the Anglo-Indian League the definition of the phrase Anglo-Indian community which I had not known hitherto. It "means and includes":

(1) All persons of mixed European and Indian descent whose father, grandfather or more remote lineal ancestor in the paternal line shall have been of European, American or Colonial birth, and

(2) Europeans, Colonial British subjects of European descent, and Americans domiciled in India.

In the circumstances these friends of the League really need not only no advocacy from these columns, but they have ranged themselves against the millions of India in so far as the European interest may be regarded as against that of India. If the half-borns claim the rights and privileges of the ruling race, theirs is an interest which as the occasion may demand will, if the ruling race can help it, override that of the indigenous inhabitants whenever the latter is in conflict with theirs. These columns stoutly resist such usurpation, no matter by whom advanced. At any rate the Anglo-Indian of the League may regard himself as well protected as the ruling race.

But I know that the Anglo-Indian not represented by the League is in an overwhelming majority. He does claim my sympathy, friendship and even pity in several cases. The half-born who takes the hue of his Indian parent and has no money is in a most unenviable condition. His political right is in no danger. It is his social status which is non-existent. He frets over his Indian parentage and he is disowned by the European race. He is therefore between Scylla and Charybdis. I often meet him. He is washed out in the process of living above his means and trying to live the European life and look like Europeans. I have pleaded with him to make his choice and to throw in his lot with the vast multitude. If these men and women will have the courage and the foresight to appreciate this very simple and natural position, they will serve themselves, they will serve India and they will be spared the galling position in which they find themselves. The greatest problem before the dumb Anglo-Indian is that of determining his social status. He is saved, the moment he recognizes himself as an Indian and lives like one.

To the vocal Anglo-Indian of the League I submit that the activities of the League are a mere tinkering with the grave problem. The League should, if it will truly represent the bulk of the Anglo-Indian community, revise its policy radically, change the definition to which I have adverted and step forward boldly and unequivocally on behalf of the glorious battle for India's freedom. Today in my opinion the League is attempting the impossible.

Young India, 29-8-1929

286. NOTES

A Mute Reformer

Sjt. Manilal Kothari writes:

> You will remember that, writing on the Bhil situation in Rajputana in *Young India* in 1922, you recommended pardon for the Bhil leader, Motilal.[1] In 1924 Sir R. E. Holland, the A. G. G. in Rajputana, after sympathetic consideration of the whole case and in view of the peaceful situation then prevailing in Rajputana, advised the States concerned to pardon Motilal, so that some time later, his influence could be utilized for some useful social work amongst the ignorant and backward Bhils. I understand that all the Rajputana States, including Mewar, agreed to the proposal, and I was distinctly told by Sir R. E. Holland as well as by his successor Lt. Col. Patterson that I had their authority to tell the Government of Bombay that Rajputana had no objection to pardon being granted to Motilal by the Bombay States, viz., Idar and Danta. It is, therefore, surprising that of all the States, Mewar should now keep him under detention and that too without any trial.
>
> The authorities allege that you had disowned Motilal. I believe it is not a fact. You have, I believe, known him personally and something of his work. I would, therefore, request you kindly to clear the misunderstanding and advise the Mewar Durbar to take a sympathetic view of the case and release the reformer.

The reader is not likely to know Motilal. Well, he is an unassuming, ignorant social reformer among the Bhils of Rajputana. His passion is to wean them from meats and drink. At one time he exercised among them very great influence. And now though it is not as great, his name commands respect among his tribesmen who owe so much of their social transformation to him. I have had the privilege of meeting Motilal after my discharge from Yeravda. He is no man of letters and hardly talks to anyone. But he means business and believes in himself and his people. I am afraid that there is a colouring of truth in the imputation that I had disowned him in 1922. I had said that he had no authority to use my name which he was alleged in 1922 to have done. But after that and when I had come to know something of his mission I had strongly recommended that he should be pardoned. I had flattered myself with the belief that

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXII, pp. 476-7 & 497.

Sir R. E. Holland's recommendation had something to do with the *Young India* paragraph. Be that as it might, I had hoped that Motilal was pardoned, and that the incident of 1922 was wholly forgotten by the States concerned. It therefore surprises me that Mewar State has arrested and detained him not for anything he has done since but for the offences alleged against him in 1922. Apart from every other consideration, surely the Mewar State will avoid the charge of bad faith which the simple Bhils will bring against it, if their beloved leader is now detained under custody for what they have been led to believe had been pardoned. So far as I am aware Motilal has done nothing to deserve detention. I trust therefore that this simple and sincere reformer will be released and encouraged in his prosecution of social.reform among his own people.

BARDOLI[1]

The correspondence between Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and the Bombay Government published in the Press affords interesting reading, and is proof of the incorrigibility and the inelasticity of the existing system of Government. It sacrifices everything on the altar of prestige. In important matters it does justice only when pressure compels it. The few instances of unconscious injustice done in the Broomfield-Maxwell Report and brought to light by the Sardar would under a responsive system have secured redress for the asking. Not so with this Government. It knows that the Sardar cannot and will not give battle on the question if he cannot secure redress by negotiation. And so the Government refuse to look at his proposal. I may mention parenthetically that there are legal difficulties in the way of enforcing any enhanced assessment. But Vallabhbhai is too proud to mention them and seek shelter behind them. The Government will deserve precious little thanks if it finds itself unable in virtue of its own laws to enforce payment. It has earned discredit by rejecting the Sardar's courteous advances. But there is another point on which the Sardar dare not yield even though it may cost another protracted struggle. He had naturally expected the Government to admit that Bardoli and Chorasi would receive the benefit, if any, of the proposed new legislation and consequent revision of settlements. Bardoli which has made such legislation obligatory on the Government cannot possibly be made to lose the benefit, if there be any, of such legislation. The Government thinks otherwise,

[1] *Vide* also pp. 323-4.

and the Sardar promises battle, if there is any benefit and the then Government proves unbending. But on this the public need not speculate except to note the woodenness of the Government, and hearten itself to destroy a system under which such procedure is possible.

"India in Bondage"

It would not have been in keeping with their tradition if the Government of Bengal had not followed up the prosecution of Sjt. Ramananda Chatterjee by proscription of Dr. Sunderland's innocent volume. The seizure consequent upon the notice of proscription was effected with all the pomp, indignity and offence the police were able to accompany their brave performance [*sic*]. For it is reported that instead of politely asking Ramananda Babu to deliver the copies in his possession, they "raided his office and took away 350 unbound copies, 101 cloth binding cases, 5 bundles of loose formes of the book, one bundle of the pictorial dust cover and 44 bound copies of the book".

The police and the Government of Bengal are welcome to the satisfaction of having subjected to indignity one of the foremost journalists and public workers of the land. Let them know that they are by such acts sending up the barometer of disaffection. Helpless we may be today to avenge such wrongs, but the time is fast coming when we shall no longer be so helpless.

Lalaji Memorial

Sjt. Purushottamdas Tandon could not rest after having formally taken up the burden of guiding Lalaji's Society.[1] He therefore came over to Sabarmati to confer with me as to how best to collect the balance of the Memorial Fund. He being a U.P. man and having passed a lifetime (practically) of service there, his eyes were turned to his own province. Would his tour interfere with my khadi collection was the question that worried him. I told him that he was not to mind the effect of his collection on my tour. Indeed I would love to combine the two collections myself. But experience has taught me that only one thing could be done at a time. Whilst therefore I could not combine the two, as in Andhra and Burma, I would love to receive subscriptions for the Memorial from whomsoever would give them to me. I therefore welcome Purushottamdasji's touring for the Memorial Fund, and I should be glad if those who revere the memory of

[1] *Vide* pp. 311-2.

the deceased tribune of the people (and who does not?) will subscribe to the Memorial, and if they will, hand them to me. At any rate my tour ought in no way to interfere with the Memorial Fund to be collected by Purushottamdasji. Indeed it is a matter for sorrow and shame that this collection has been hanging fire for such a long time.

Anti-untouchability Campaign[1]

Sjt. Jamnalalji, the Secretary of the Congress Anti-untouchability Committee, has succeeded in having the famous Dattatreya temple of Elichpur, the former capital of Berar, thrown open to the so-called untouchables. He performed the opening ceremony before a distinguished gathering on 31st July last. The temple is one of the biggest in Elichpur which has a population of 38,000. It was built 15 years ago at a cost of Rs. 83,000 by the efforts of Swami Vimalanand. The Committee of Management consists of 24 of whom 18 voted for the opening. There is a board of 5 trustees who were unanimous in their decision in favour of the opening. The new signboard put up at the entrance reads:

> This temple is thrown open from today for free access to Mangs, Mahars, Chamars and all Hindus alike for purposes of *darshan*, *bhajan*, for offering worship and prayers and for attending religious discourses, etc.

The opening ceremony was preceded by a public meeting presided over by Dr. Patwardhan of Amaraoti.

The organizers of the ceremony deserve congratulations for the service they have rendered to Hinduism and the nation. Let us hope that Jamnalalji will be able to induce the trustees of other temples to follow the example of Wardha and now of Elichpur. This beginning is but a drop in the ocean. For there are lakhs of temples that await this initial purification of lifting the ban on 'untouchables'. Hindus must hang down their heads in shame so long as the curse of untouchability persists.

Self-spinning in Rajputana

Sjt. Mulchandji who is organizing self-spinning in Ringas sends an interesting report of the work done there from which I condense the following information:

> The work was commenced in March 1928. It was started with a school through which contact was sought to be established. But it was found that direct contact with the elders

1 *Vide* also pp. 324-5.

was essential. So the workers visited the homes of the peasantry after they had returned from their fields. They had spinning-wheels which were in danger of being put away. The work was however commenced by inviting them to learn carding. This some of them undertook to learn. Teaching was imparted at night between 7 and 10. This however excited the jealousy of the professional *pinjaras* who spread all kinds of wild rumours among the credulous peasantry. Nothing daunted, the workers called a meeting of the whole peasantry and explained the philanthropic object of their mission. Confidence was restored and the work went on smoothly. As a result in a population of 5,289 in 61 villages, 410 families out of 933 had taken part in the movement up to the time for which the report has been drawn up. Of these 67 families have had all their clothing made out of self-spun yarn. This means 349 souls. 595 men and women had a portion of their cloth prepared from self-spun yarn. 915 persons learnt carding during the period under review, i.e., eight months. Altogether 2,398 yards of khadi was thus woven. This is encouraging progress, and shows how by patient toil contact can be established with people, and they can be persuaded to take an interest in their own well-being. What has been possible in the villages surrounding Ringas is surely possible more or less throughout India.

SAROJINI DEVI'S WORK IN THE WEST

Sjt. Dhan Gopal Mukarji writes:[1]

> Mrs. Naidu's visit was fortunate for the Indians in America, and also beneficial to the Americans themselves. She was not afraid to make enemies. That is why she succeeded so eminently. She pleased all because she curried favour with none. . . . There is no living person that uses any language as well as she did her English. To crown all, she was not proud of her knowledge of the conquerors' language. This last bit of honest sarcasm ran through the *amor propre* of her opponents like the finest rapier. A slave cannot be proud of his mastery over his conquerors' language.
>
> You can see from the above how well we liked "our silver-tongued Sarojini of Hyderabad". She did her work well. Do send her again.

FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT

Sjt. Jairamdas Doulatram, Secretary, Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee, writes:[2]

[1] & [2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

> Only about five weeks remain before the second stock-taking of the nation's progress in regard to the programme of boycott of foreign cloth. . . . The 2nd of October is the day for such national stock-taking. . . . Unless in the course of the remaining few months of the year the Congress is able to organize the masses to an adequate extent through the medium of the boycott campaign, the Lahore Congress will not be placed in a position to decide upon taking any large step towards national satyagraha on the 1st January, 1930.
>
> I would, therefore, earnestly appeal to all organizations to put forth as large an effort as is possible from 1st September to the end of December, 1929 to make the boycott programme a great success.

Measured by the past eight months it does not seem as if we are to make much progress with the movement during the remaining months. No doubt something has been done. For this we may be thankful, but nothing commensurate with the task before us has been accomplished. What we need is a hurricane campaign. That can come only if we have the adequate fire within us. The sad part of the work is that the Congress Committees do not respond. Very few have sent in regular reports. Many have sent none. Unless all Congress Committees act as one man and promptly, no effective work is possible.

Young India, 29-8-1929

287. THE DEVADASI

The indefatigable Dr. S. Muthulakshmi Reddi writes:[1]

> As you have been openly denouncing the *Devadasi* system in the Hindu temples, I make bold to appeal to you for help in the great task of getting rid of that evil. In this Presidency, I find it an uphill task, as the so-called educated men and even some of the most prominent Congressmen oppose my reform measures and defend that infamous institution.
>
> My Devadasi Bill, which has now become an Act, deals only with the Inam-holding *Devadasis*, but there is a section of that community which practise dedication under the cloak of religion simply to make a living out of prostitution. This is nothing but traffic in children; because children are even bought and adopted (adoption by *Devadasi* is allowed by our Hindu Law) . . . I have had many memorials and petitions from the enlightened section of that community asking me to bring about legislation to punish such wicked people who trade upon the children's souls and bodies.

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

The Penal Code Sections 372 and 373 have proved ineffective. Hence, I have given notice of another Bill for the success of which I want your blessings. Some may argue that legislation is no good so long as the people do not realize the evil in that custom; but my contention is that a good section of our people perceive the injustice.

Among the *Devadasi* community itself there is a great awakening, and they have been doing propaganda on a large scale, but I am pained to observe that the high-caste people do not help them in that community's efforts to reform themselves. And further, our laws for the protection of children are almost nil in this Presidency . . .

I heartily endorse the writer's proposal. Indeed I do not think that the proposed legislation will be in advance of public opinion. The whole of the enlightened public opinion that is vocal is against the retention of the system in any shape or form. The opinion of the parties concerned in the immoral traffic cannot count, just as the opinion of keepers of opium dens will not count in favour of their retention, if public opinion is otherwise against them. The *Devadasi* system is a blot upon those who countenance it. It would have died long ago but for the supineness of the public. Public conscience in this country somehow or other lies dormant. It often feels the awfulness of many a wrong, but is too indifferent or too lazy to move. But if some active spirit like Dr. Reddi moves, that conscience is prepared to lend such support as indifference can summon up. I am therefore of opinion that Dr. Reddi's proposal is in no way premature. Such legislation might well have been brought earlier. In any case I hope that she will receive the hearty support of all lovers of purity in religious and general social life.

Young India, 29-8-1929

288. IMAGE WORSHIP

An inquirer writes:

1. What ritual would you suggest or the kind of image-worship which you support? Would it be enough just to have the *darshan* of the image or would you also recommend the offering of food, etc.? Considering that the image cannot eat, how far is it proper to offer it food?

A. I have no specific ritual for the worship of an image. Each man or society can create his or its own ritual. And this is what usually happens. The ritual indicates the person's or the society's conception of good form. It is after all mostly a matter

of convention. The devotee, as the saying goes, conceives of his deity in his own image, which means that it is a matter of imagination, but so long as imagination holds sway it represents the real.

2. Inasmuch as man is an embodied being, even the greatest of men is bound to have a few defects. As I see it, the worship of him will result in the transmission of these defects to the worshipper, because both the merits and defects of the worshipped tend to be transmitted to the worshipper. Do you approve of this kind of worship?

A. For the object of one's worship one can choose either an ideal, that is, an imaginary figure, or a historical person. I prefer the former. Krishna conceived as a *Sampurnavatara*, i.e., a plenary incarnation of God is an ideal, that is, an imaginary incarnation. A historical Krishna may have defects. I agree that the merits and defects of the worshipped tend to be transmitted to the worshipper.

3. The body with the *jivatma*[1] is called *chetana*, i.e., the sentient, and after the soul has departed from it, it is called *jada*, i.e., the inert. If it is contended that the all-pervading divine Principle is present also in the lifeless image, how can one who considers God to be all-pervading limit Him merely to the image? Would it not amount to an insult to an emperor if one were to call him the ruler of a small village?

A. It is true that we cannot limit the authority of an emperor to just a village, but he is ruler of a small village in the same degree as he is of countless villages. And it is quite possible that the resident of a particular village may be completely ignorant of the existence of other villages. The prince of devotees, Tulsidas, had for his God the bow-bearing Ramachandra and not the discus-wielding Krishnachandra. That is why he had the *darshan* of Ramachandra even when he looked at the image of Krishnachandra.

4. You often say that for success in the tasks that we have undertaken, such as Hindu-Muslim unity, people should pray to God. That being so, will you say that the people who worship trees and other things should pray to them for selfish or altruistic ends?

A. There is no detachment in a petitionary prayer. There is in it an element of attachment and necessarily therefore of aversion. My ideal prayer is free from attachment and is therefore addressed to the all-pervading and unknowable Divine. But those who

[1] Individual self

worship trees and other things may pray to them for success in such altruistic prayers as for Hindu-Muslim unity.

5. Along with faith, is not discrimination also necessary? Won't you say that faith devoid of discrimination is blind faith or superstition? And is not blind faith responsible for many evils in the world?

A. My faith includes both knowledge and discrimination. Faith has no place in things which can be dealt with by reason. It is thus clear that blind faith is not faith at all.

6. You prescribe the way of truth and non-violence as the only true way for all men. Could you not similarly prescribe some specific form of *upasana*[1]—no matter what language is used for ritual or prayer?

A. Truth and non-violence represent a universal principle. *Upasana*, however, is only a means, though a necessary and powerful means, evolved by man. It is therefore determined by time and place. It admits of variation, and rightly too, though the final result is the same. Just as the waters of all rivers flow into the sea, even so do the prayer and adoration offered to the different deities find their way to Keshava.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 29-8-1929

289. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

August 30, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. You should make a trip by all means, if you can free yourself from there. I take my daily walk regularly.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9264; also C. W. 511. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

[1] Waiting on God, spiritual or religious exercise, meditation

290. CARDING OR ARCHERY

The word *pinjan*[1] has become disagreeable in our language. Even in figurative language, it is a term implying censure. When a person keeps on pointlessly repeating the same thing, we say of him that he is doing *pinjan*. This usage of the word has become so established that we do not like the word '*pinjanshastra*'[2] or '*pinjan-vidya*'[3]. A new form of the tool used in carding, which is known as the "Bardoli Bow", is made of a bow-shaped bamboo, and looks like a bow too. Hence I have made bold to use a word which has become endeared in the terminology of the Kshatriyas, i.e., '*dhanurvidya*'[4] instead of the word '*pinjanshastra*'. I apologize to the intellectual class for doing this. If other lovers of the language also get enraged at me for taking such liberties with a word with such an established usage, I beg their forgiveness too.

I feel, however, that at a time when our language is developing, when new ideas are being brought into it, new discoveries are being made, when the scope for courage, etc., is being enlarged, we should be accommodating in the usage of those words.

The reader is not unfamiliar with the liberties I have been taking with words for many years. I have given a new definition of the word Kshatriya. The latter is not a person who knows how to kill others but rather one who acquires the art of sacrificing his own life so that others may live. A Kshatriya is one who has well mastered the *mantra* of never retreating in the battle between gods and demons which is raging in this world. A Kshatriya is one who is the very embodiment of compassion. What kind of knowledge of archery should such a Kshatriya possess? While reflecting on this problem, just as a carpenter invariably thinks of a *babul* tree, is it any wonder if my mind turns towards carding? If we learn the craft of carding, if the young people acquire mastery over it, they would by daily devoting some time to it serve hundreds of thousands of women. Those who have mastered the science of spinning repeatedly declare that, if carding is properly done, if the strands in a sliver are separated and symmetrically arranged, the resulting yarn will easily be good, even, strong and fine. If

[1] Carding
[2] Science of carding
[3] Knowledge of carding
[4] Knowledge of archery

someone makes slivers free of charge, that will be rendering great service to those of our women who do not card today and are not likely to do so. And if this is done, it will go a long way towards helping make khadi cheap. The activity of spinning is progressing at snail's pace. The same is not true of carding or what we may now call '*dhanurvidya*'. Moreover, this *vidya* presupposes both physical and spiritual strength. Let anyone who wishes, have a look at a carder's chest. Every carder's chest is something that would make another envious. It is round, expanded and beautiful. The muscles of his arms too are likewise well developed. If one carder is earnest, he can surely serve at least twenty women because he cards at least ten pounds [of cotton] in ten hours. This amount of cotton is more than what is required by twenty women working ten hours, who spin yarn of ten to twelve counts. From this it is clear that anyone who acquires this skill can find work to his satisfaction.

Moreover, the activity of spinning has been carried on as an independent trade from ancient times, and has been able to compete with other trades. Today a carder demands and gets thirty rupees a month. In the beginning the Ashram had engaged a carder on a wage of seventy rupees a month. Even an ordinary carder can make eight annas a day today. One has to have a book in order to acquire easily a knowledge of such a beautiful form of archery. This has been included in Maganlal Gandhi's book entitled "The Science of Weaving". However, that can contain only the basic principles. Again, this *vidya* has taken great strides since then. The Gujarat Vidyapith has given a proper place to this great science, which is a prop of the nation and sustainer of millions of men and women. It has laid down the examinations to be held and is realizing and increasing its importance day by day. Hence the necessity has been felt for having a textbook on this subject. In order to see to it that the text is a very useful one, a questionnaire has been issued by the Principal to those who have mastered the art. The questions go into minute detail and occupy a fair amount of space and as only a particular section of readers would be interested in it, I do not publish them here. However, those who are interested in this subject should write to the Principal, Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad, and obtain a copy of the questionnaire. His office will find it convenient if the words 'Regarding *dhanurvidya*' are written on the left-hand side of the address.

Perhaps, it is necessary to add that the term has not been accepted by the Vidyapith. I have coined it for the very first time

for this article. I alone am responsible for its use. Kakasaheb or the other office-bearers can reject it. The reader who does not like this use of the word may suggest any other sonorous word instead. A carder is also known as a *tanti*. Since a *tant*[1] is the principal factor involved in carding, the term '*tantvidya*' or '*tantshastra*' may also be employed. But I must admit that I like the word '*dhanurvidya*.'

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-9-1929

291. MY NOTE

Shri Hiralal's Scheme

Three experienced persons have independently pointed out the same defect in Shri Hiralal's scheme published in *Young India* and *Navajivan* for a new type of spinning-wheel. Since others who are giving thought to this scheme also find this and other defects in it, I publish below one letter from among the many that I have here with me:[2]

Let Shri Hiralal and others interested in innovations give thought to this. Even if Shri Hiralal's scheme is regarded as faulty and considered useless, his efforts will still be dear to me. Such efforts are very necessary. Although we may not discover a new spinning-wheel, while working in that direction we may come across many other things. Although the farmer's heirs did not discover in his field the golden egg mentioned in his will, they got by digging it up untainted wealth in the form of a golden harvest which proved even more valuable than the golden egg and the heirs learned the importance of body labour.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-9-1929

[1] A thread

[2] The letter is not translated here. Hiralal had suggested the use of a hollow spindle. The correspondent contended that it would result in untwisting the yarn, and making it weak and fragile.

292. FIT FOR ALL TO READ

The Navajivan Prakashan Mandir has just published Shri Mahadev Desai's "History of Bardoli Satyagraha"[1]. As it has been written by Shri Mahadev Desai, it is indeed authoritative and the reader can rest assured about the authenticity of each event mentioned in it. At a time when the fragrance of a gigantic satyagraha has filled the air and people are eagerly looking forward to the coming year, everyone who desires to secure swaraj should know what kind of weapon satyagraha is, what its limits are, how Bardoli, the Sardar and the people of Bardoli employed it, what kind of triumph they achieved thereby, what fine after-effects flowed from it and how far-reaching they have been. Hence this history is very opportune. Everyone should make a detailed study of it. Considering its subject-matter, it is neither too long nor too short and it occupies 389 demy octavo pages. It contains six illustrations the most useful of which is the one giving a map of Bardoli, showing all its principal villages. The inquiry committee had visited 47 villages, which are indicated with the help of numbers. Other useful details are also given. Among other useful illustrations, that of a women's meeting attracts special attention. This history has been priced at only twelve annas.[2] I hope that all will get a copy of this book, read it carefully, reflect upon it, and derive some inspiration from it regarding the kind of sacrifice they may in their turn be able to make at the altar of swaraj.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-9-1929

[1] *Bardoli Satyagrahano Itihas*

[2] The source has a footnote advising those ordering the book by post to send three annas extra for postage.

293. SCHEME OF SELF-RELIANCE

Of course, I did publish Shri Shivabhai's article[1] but I have received three articles contradicting it. The last one is from Shri Jethalal. It is not easy to oppose him because he writes from his experience and adheres firmly to his views. His rejoinder[2] runs as follows.

All lovers of khadi who have made a study of its science should consider this reply carefully. If those who do not know this science master the arithmetic behind it, they will find it interesting and enjoyable. Having said this, I may add that I cannot deviate from my basic statement. I still feel that, in the widespread propaganda for khadi, the principle that those who spin should also weave cannot work. That certainly is not the ideal situation. At the very basis of this scheme lies lack of faith in human beings. As weaving is a complete and independent activity, it cannot be carried on in every house and in attempting to do so, one would run counter to the prevailing principle of division of labour. Man is as independent as he is dependent. And he must be so in order that he may be able to preserve his humility. If he can be visualized as a totally independent being, he will cease to be a social animal and if, in turn, he ceases to be that, he will cease to be non-violent and will be unable to achieve a sense of unity with all living beings.

It has been said that, if all those who spin do not weave, they will not turn out good yarn. This amounts to maligning the human race. If those textile mills which only produce yarn can make fine yarn, why should not persons who merely spin on the spinning-wheel do likewise? Love will make them spin fine yarn. The reader should bear in mind that it is a different matter that, in order to have a complete knowledge of spinning, it is necessary to have a knowledge of weaving also. There should certainly be no need for every spinner to weave for himself in order to improve the quality of the yarn spun by him. I am becoming increasingly convinced day by day of the need to make an independent effort to improve

[1] "If Spinners also Weave?" published in *Navajivan*, 18-8-1929; *vide* p. 298.

[2] Not translated here. Taking into account the cost of cotton and wages for ginning, carding and spinning, the correspondent had shown that khadi produced thus would cost nearly three rupees a yard of 10 count yarn and 30 inches width.

the quality of yarn. The spinner stands to gain by such improvement. Let us take full advantage of this and bring about an improvement in the quality of yarn. We shall never be able to make innumerable women take to weaving. Even at present we have been able, with some effort, to make the women produce better yarn. The improvement that has taken place in yarn in the course of the last seven years is a hopeful sign.

Moreover, there are hundreds of thousands of expert weavers in the country and it is our duty to make use of their skill. They too form a section of the people. We have yet to win them over with love. We have still to convince them that in the reform of their trade lies the welfare of the country. And it is through such mutual trust and dependence alone that we are going to march ahead.

I regard the question of competing with cloth made in textile mills—whether foreign or Indian—as a temporary and futile one. When farmers store their own cotton, carry on all the activities up to that of spinning in their own homes, they will certainly get their own khadi made by paying the proper wage to the weaver and not touch mill-made cloth. The economics of khadi is unique. It has a soul whereas the economics of textile mills is soulless. Hence the two differ in kind. Just as the waters of the ocean and those of the Ganges being qualitatively different cannot be compared to each other, similarly there can be no comparison between cloth produced in textile mills and hand-made cloth produced in villages.

However, no one should interpret my article to imply that, where the farmer is well-to-do and has a large family, he should not introduce weaving into his house; he certainly should do so. My emphasis is on keeping the activity of spinning separate; there is a danger of suffocating it by combining it with weaving or of slackening the pace of the widespread use of the spinning-wheel. For the purpose of propaganda for the spinning-wheel, it is necessary to realize and demonstrate the limits of weaving. Whereas crores have to spin, only lakhs have to weave; while spinning will always remain primarily a subsidiary occupation, weaving will always remain chiefly an independent one. On the revival of spinning depends the economic and, consequently, the moral upliftment of crores of people and in order to make the activity successful, it is necessary to bring about development in all sections of society such as weavers, business men and others. Spinning is an activity which awakens religious sentiment and purifies the soul.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-9-1929

294. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

[*September 1, 1929*][1]

DEAR BHUR-R-R[2],

The check is being duly acknowledged. What does it matter what others think of it so long as your conscience and your doctor tell you, you dare not go far from home? But you must soon be a young man of seventeen and not an old mare of seventy.

Yours,
BHURRR

[PS.]

I shall tell Raihana your message when she comes.

M. K. G.

ABBAS TYABJI, ESQ.
CAMP, BARODA

From a photostat: S.N. 9567

295. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

SABARMATI,
September 2, 1929

BHAI KHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter. I expect to reach Revashankerbhai's place at two in the afternoon of the 7th. I shall get down at Dadar by the first morning train reaching there, and then go to Vile Parle. From there I shall reach Bombay at 2 p.m. The programme you have drawn up is all right. It would be good if you can begin at 5.30 and still better if at 6 o'clock. Being forbidden by doctors to speak much, I shall speak for a few minutes only. Can you not manage to go through the programme in an hour and a half? Of course I do not wish to put you to inconvenience. You need not do anything else for me. Arrange to take me to the place. If you wish, you may see me at Dadar.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6595

[1] From the postmark
[2] This was a form of greeting used between Gandhiji and the addressee.

296. *TELEGRAM TO THAKURDAS BHARGAVA*[1]

SABARMATI,
[On or after *September 2, 1929*]

MY OPINION EIGHTEEN YEARS GIRLS TWENTY-FIVE BOYS.

From a photostat: S.N. 15523

297. *APPEAL TO TEMPLE TRUSTEES*

Sjt. Jamnalalji in his capacity as Hon. Secretary, Anti-untouchability Committee of the Indian National Congress, has addressed the following forcible appeal[2] to the trustees of public Hindu temples:

> You are probably aware that the Indian National Congress has appointed a separate Committee this year for making special efforts for the removal of untouchability. The work has obviously to be done through the Hindus, and the Congress resolution is explicit on the point. In these days of terrific advance in material science while the world is shrinking fast, India has constantly to be weighed in the scale of nations as a single indivisible unit, and when an evil within the fold of a community apart from its inherent injustice becomes a nuisance to its neighbours and a reproach to the entire nation, it is only appropriate, you will agree, that the premier national institution such as the Congress should interest itself in it, and help the community concerned to achieve its speedy elimination. . . .
>
> . . . The Hindu tradition, founded on Vedic and scriptural lore, and nurtured by the most dynamic teachings of Kabir, Gaurang, Jnaneshvar, Eknath, Tukaram, Narasinh Mehta and a whole galaxy of Dravidian saints, not only broke the barriers in social intercourse between man and man, but emphatically repudiated and positively set their face against any such cruel distinctions. . . .
>
> . . . The barest justice requires us to let them draw from the village well drinking water, to let their children have the same benefit of learning the three R's at the village school as our own, and to fling open for them the temples of God that we open to the rest of the Hindus. . . .

[1] In reply to his telegram dated September 2, which read: "Sarda Bill fixing fourteen for girls. Wire your opinion minimum marriage age for girls and boys."

[2] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

> I shall be thankful if you will let me know what action you propose taking in response to my appeal to you.

Let us hope that the appeal will not fall on deaf ears. Wardha has led the way. In this connection it is pleasurable to note what a correspondent writes. He says:

> Of late there has set in a healthy tide of thoughtful and sympathetic consideration of this question among class Hindus throughout Maharashtra. The recent opening of the temple at Elichpur[1] has added further stimulation. Two or three more temples have been thrown open to untouchables quietly. Sjt. Bhopatkar, as President of the local Asprishyata Nivarak Mandal has issued through the *Kesari* a reasoned appeal to all the trustees of Hindu temples in Maharashtra, inviting them to throw open the temples under their charge to untouchables. He has also issued a special appeal to the trustees of the famous Parvati Temple of Poona built by the Peshwas. It is managed by trustees who are known to be public-spirited. This appeal has been ably reinforced by Rao Bahadur Prof. Sahasrabuddhe of Poona. The Rao Bahadur makes a passionate appeal to the local Mahasabha, Youth League, Brahman Sabha, Students' Brotherhood, the pundits and all the general public to strengthen the hands of the trustees by publicly supporting the latter emphatically and unequivocally.

It is to be hoped that the Hindu public will support these appeals by calling meetings and otherwise. Perhaps the most effective way is to organize local meetings in places where there are important temples and take deputations to the trustees. After all they are not owners, but agents of the public, and if the public demand freedom of entry for the 'untouchables' into a particular temple, the trustees concerned have to carry out their desire irrespective of their own opinions.

Young India, 5-9-1929

Sjt. Jairamdas reports that out of 172 possible District Congress Committees only 27 have been sending reports of work done in connection with the foreign-cloth boycott movement inaugurated by the Congress, which is really the most important part of the Congress work in the sense that it affects the whole nation and it is a programme in which everyone can take part. It is moreover a programme whose successful working cannot but produce a tremendous impression both on ourselves and the rulers. Sjt. Jairamdas further states that repeated reminders fail to bring even acknowledgments. Some Provincial Congress Committees have ignored his appeals altogether. Thus there is nothing from seven provinces, viz., Delhi, C.P. Hindustani, Burma, Assam, Andhra, Ajmer and North Western Frontier. Out of a total of 2,230 reports bespoken only 86 have been received, i.e., 4 per cent! The districts are distributed as follows:

Berar	6	Punjab	15
Maharashtra	11	Utkal	6
Bihar	16	Kerala	[3]
Tamil Nad	9	Sind	8
U. P.	37	Bombay	7
C. P. Marathi	4	Karnatak	11
Gujarat	4	Bengal	32
			169

There are more than 250 districts in British India. Thus only two-thirds of the total number of districts are covered nominally by the Congress organization. This is not a bright outlook. The Congress is the one organization that appeals to the nation. It is the one organization which, if efficiently worked, can without doubt secure freedom for the nation. But it cannot do so if its component parts do not respond with the quickest dispatch to instructions from the central office, or if it does not cover every district and taluk, let alone every village. Foreign-cloth boycott is a matter largely of organization. There are no two opinions about its desirability and even necessity. But the ablest secretary will fail, if those who have to be organized are lazy or indifferent. It is time for responsible workers throughout the provinces to ponder over the painful facts narrated by me, and to remedy an evil which is so easily avoidable. The Secretaries of District and

Taluk Committees should know that failure to carry out instructions from headquarters brings them under the disciplinary resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. meeting at Bombay. Personally I should prefer to have only 16 swift-moving, co-operating committees instead of 169 indifferent, irresponsive and irresponsible committees. The 16 real committees *can* show some work. The 169 inactive, sleeping committees *can only be* a dead weight. What shall we be?

Young India, 5-9-1929

299. FORTHCOMING U. P. TOUR

Local organizers have asked me for instructions regarding the forthcoming tour in the United Provinces. I had thought that what I had said about the Andhra tour[1] would suffice, but I observe that the paragraphs then written escaped the attention of workers in the other provinces, as they were not then directly concerned.

To come then to the U.P. tour, organizers will please remember that I have just risen from a sick bed to which I was driven by my own ignorance and premature trustfulness. Medical and other friends have therefore reconciled themselves to the tour on my promise that I would take as much rest as possible during the day, refrain from making long speeches or from undertaking much other exertion. Therefore the organizers will beware of multiplying functions or expecting long speeches from me. Nor must I be called upon to walk or mount huge platforms.

Even apart from medical instructions consequent on my convalescence, from the strict business point of view—and this tour is to be purely a business and businesslike tour—it is necessary to save time and expense.

I have a horror of touching-the-feet devotion. It is wholly unnecessary as a mark of affection, it may easily be degrading. It interferes with free and easy movement, and I have been hurt by the nails of the devotees cutting into the flesh. The performance has often taken more than fifteen minutes to pass through a crowd to a platform only a few yards from the farthest end.

The platform is comparatively a costly affair, and sometimes when unskilfully constructed, a dangerous contrivance. It is therefore better to take my motor to the centre of the meeting and use it as a platform. This proved a most effective and expeditious method in Andhra.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XL, pp. 88-90.

Reception Committees should on no account cut through the purses for the purpose of defraying decoration or feeding expenses. There should be a separate collection where required. All decoration should therefore be avoided. Even where some decoration is resorted to, foreign cloth, foreign paper and the like should be altogether excluded.

Noises at the meetings should be avoided. This can only be done by some leading men going to the meetings in advance, and coaching the audience to observe silence, not to press, not to shout, not to smoke, not to attempt to advance towards me for touching the feet, etc.

Strictest economy should be observed about housing and feeding me and my company. The companions should have the plainest fare, no spices, no sweets. Local fruit if obtainable may be given. Expensive fruit must not be ordered from Bombay, Calcutta or Delhi. I carry a supply of dried fruit with me, and I should be thankful for it to be locally replenished wherever obtainable. Lemons are a necessary article of food. Unfortunately for me, I have been obliged to revert to goat's milk. It will be therefore necessary to procure for me about 4 lb. of goat's milk, and where possible, curds made from goat's milk, in whose manufacture no other curds are mixed for fermentation. A few drops of lemon added to boiled and cooled goat's milk curdles it in twelve hours.

My lodgings should be so selected as to afford me quiet and privacy. We carry enough cloth to make our own beddings. But where anything in this direction is supplied, it should be entirely of khadi. It has been a torture to me at times to be placed in luxuriously fitted rooms where everything is foreign, cloth included.

Work should not commence before 7 a.m. and should not take more than two hours. In every case it should stop at 10 a.m., and not recommence before 5.30 p.m. and should not go beyond 8 p.m. From 10 to 3 I should have the whole time to myself for rest and my editorial and other work. Between 3 and 4 I should spin and see workers. Workers' meetings I hold to be necessary in every place, big or small.

Spectacular functions should be strictly avoided, except where they are meant to serve an educational purpose.

Organizers should remember that this is a khadi tour undertaken on behalf of the All-India Spinners' Association. It is the largest national organization run on business lines for the sole purpose of bringing the message of the wheel to the homes of the seven hundred thousand villages of this vast country. On its successful

working depends the relief of the growing and grinding economic distress of the semi-starved millions. I want every pie I can get for this work. One rupee in the chest of the A.I.S.A. means a day's feed to 16 starving sisters, whereas in a private pocket it may mean a day's drink or a day's cigar or a day's sweets bringing diseases in their train.

Moneys collected from the populace should on no account be diverted for any other purpose. The masses give trustingly. The safest way to use their donations is for the propagation of the wheel. Donations so used return to their kind charged with double interest. In these collections all should take part irrespective of party or status. Even judges have paid me for khadi.

But I want to do other Congress work also. I want to learn about and help in the organization of the Congress. The addresses where presented should therefore be full of information:

(a) The population with its component parts in the area covered by the address;

(b) national schools with attendance;

(c) number of wheels and looms working, monthly production of yarn and khadi in quantity and value;

(d) monthly sale locally and outside of khadi produced;

(e) number of self-spinners;

(f) number of volunteers and the nature of their work;

(g) number of members, men and women, according to religious denomination;

(h) state of Congress finance;

(i) quantity of work done for boycott of foreign cloth, liquor and untouchability, and state of Hindu-Muslim relations.

This is merely a sample of the information I should like to be supplied to me. I should like a map drawn to scale of each taluk visited with the villages shown where Congress activity is carried on.

Those who are interested in cow welfare and pure milk supply will give me the information about the condition of the cattle in their respective areas.

Lastly, I should of course love to see students, not to address them but to meet them so as to enter into their hearts and to share their sorrows and difficulties. Women's meetings I always expect everywhere with their jewellery and well-spun yarn.

Young India, 5-9-1929

Afflicted Sind

The pen refuses to move to record the tale of Sind's woe. Day after day I follow the harrowing accounts in the daily Press, and realize our helplessness. But we may not therefore sit idle. Every rupee received will relieve some distress. We have simply to do the little we can. The widow's mite coming from a pure heart goes much faster than millions given grudgingly. All the contributions received will be spent through the very careful and tried agency of Professor Narayandas Malkani. Let the donors not delay their contributions.

A National Insult

The insulting and impossible (for a self-respecting man) conditions imposed by the Union Government on the Ali Brothers in respect of their contemplated visit to South Africa demonstrate once more the truth of the proverb: "The leopard cannot change his spots." One had thought that after the friendly agreement arrived at the historic round table conference, after the wonderful work done by the Rt. Hon'ble Sastri in South Africa, the insult offered to the Ali Brothers and through them to the nation by the Union Government was impossible. In view of the undertaking voluntarily given by the Brothers, the Union Government could have felt sure that they would never deliver political speeches. With reference to notabilities the convention is to assume correct conduct on their part without the necessity of imposing galling restrictions. And even when in such cases there is any doubt about such conduct, the convention is to ensure safety through diplomatic and courteous channels. For instance in this very case the Union Government, instead of conveying the restrictions to the Ali Brothers, could have secured their purpose through the Government of India—in so far as it was legitimate. In no case could they exact pecuniary security or impose a ridiculous time-limit as the Union Government have sought to do. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will see that this palpable wrong is righted, the restrictions wholly withdrawn and the Brothers permitted to proceed to South Africa without hurting their self-respect and without undue restrictions, direct or indirect, tacit or implied.

Pure Cheap Literature

I have not much faith in the efficacy of cheap literature, however pure it may be, when it is pitted against dirty literature. I believe in the contact of pure conduct. But on the principle that something is better than nothing and that the spread of pure literature can do no harm even where it fails to do good, I welcome the enterprise of Sjt. Mahavirprasad Poddar and his band of purist friends in publishing good, pure, healthy literature. These publications are very cheap, very handy and all in Hindi. It consists of abridgments from *Navajivan*, *Young India* and other publications, Eastern and European. Much consists of khadi literature. I recommend this for stocking in all khadi bhandars. Full information may be had from Shuddha Khadi Bhandar, 132 Harrison Road, Calcutta.

The Charkha Supplement

I very nearly promised[1] the reader the plan that Sjt. Hiralal had accompanied his specification. He has now very kindly supplied me with the block and letterpress. The reader will see both[2] in the supplement to this issue. It is perhaps only proper that I should tell him that three Gujarati correspondents have independently of one another raised identical objections[3] to Sjt. Hiralal's conception, objections which they hold to be radical and fatal to its success. I have published one of the letters in *Navajivan*. Shortly, the objection is that the hollow spindle will not wind the yarn if it is to work at both ends. The twist received at one end will be undone at the other end[4]. This is as far as a layman can describe a technical objection. I have brought this to Sjt. Hiralal's notice, and suggested to him that he should now translate his theory into practice, and have a model made of his plan and work at it regularly, till he can make the next announcement not of a well-reasoned specification, but of a complete charkha constructed according to his specification.

At any rate the labour spent by Sjt. Hiralal Shah is its own reward. He has endeavoured to stimulate and provoke the inventive faculty of khadi lovers. Whether he can now follow up his specification with concrete action or not, it is for others to take up the thread of their conception where Sjt. Hiralal has left it.

[1] *Vide* p. 308.
[2] Not reproduced here
[3] *Vide* p. 343.
[4] The source has "hand".

The plan now presented to the reader should help him in that direction.

Young India, 5-9-1929

301. INDIAN CULTURE

When I was touring in U.P in 1924 a peasant called out to me near Ayodhya and threw a sheet of paper in my car. I picked up that sheet and found that he had written on it many precious quatrains and couplets from Tulsidas's *Ramacharitamanasa*. This made me very happy and enhanced my reverence for Indian culture. I preserved this sheet in my file hoping to publish it some day.

I would take it up every week and put it aside. For at the time I got it I was not writing anything for *Hindi Navajivan* and I did not feel that it would be so useful for the Gujarati *Navajivan*. Part of what he had written on it was published in both the Gujarati and Hindi editions in 1927.[1]

As these days I am regularly writing something every week for *Hindi Navajivan* and also as my tour of U.P. is to begin shortly I am publishing below the remaining part:[2]

I have left out the words of praise. This peasant brother has a neat hand and he has formed his letters with care.

Historians have testified that nowhere in the world are the peasants as civilized as in India. This sheet of paper is proof of it. Tulsidas has played a leading part in the preservation of Indian culture. Without the awakening influence of the *Ramacharitamanasa* of Tulsidas, the life of the peasants would become dull and dry. One cannot say how it happened but it is unquestionably true that the life-giving force in Tulsidas's language is not found in other writers. *Ramacharitamanasa* is a storehouse of gems of thought. The above couplets and quatrains give us some idea of its value. I firmly believe that the peasant writer did not have to put in much effort in the selection of quotations. He has supplied them from his repertory.

We need not despair as to our morality, when we hear from a peasant's mouth sayings like, "Can an adulterer find salvation?", "Can a kingdom stand without a knowledge of statecraft?", "Is there any vice to match backbiting or any virtue to match compassion?"[3] and so on.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XXXIV, p. 490.

[2] Not translated here

[3] From *Ramacharitamanasa*, 'Uttarakanda'

It is said these days that the peasants are living in darkness, that in our country *tamas* is predominant and that it must move on into *rajas*. First of all I do not believe that *tamas*, *rajas* and *sattva* can be divided into such watertight compartments. I feel that everyone has within him all the three *gunas* in some measure or other. The difference is only of degree. I firmly believe that in our country it is not *tamas* which rules supreme but *sattva*. This sheet of paper is a proof of this. If this had been an exception, it would not have served as a proof of the predominance of *sattva* in India. But when we know that millions of peasants know by heart the quatrains and couplets of Tulsidas and that they also understand them, then we can say with a measure of certainty that people who have such ideas have a *sattvik* civilization and that these quatrains and couplets are a proof of it.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 5-9-1929

302. LETTER TO G. V. MAVLANKAR

September 6, 1929

BHAISHRI MAVALANKAR,

I wonder what I should say to you. You have many things to attend to, and there must be several mendicants like me waiting at your door. However, as compared to the other, the fee-paying, clients, the beggars have either a prior right or none at all. This by way of introduction.

The Trust Deed relating to the Navajivan Karyalaya has been lying with you, and it has now got to be registered without delay. One can never know what will happen when. Before anything happens, you, I and all others concerned must [take this step and] run the risk of incurring humiliation. Please, therefore, have done with the job in a week's time. As two years have already passed, it may be necessary to make some changes. Please consider this.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1226

303. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[*September 7, 1929*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I am writing these few lines in the midst of much work and surrounded by a number of people.

1. Sharma will arrive there on Monday. I shall enclose his telegram with this if I can find it. He is an expert on the consumption of uncooked grain. He has even written several books on the subject. Those who eat such grain, and Lakshmidas, should have a discussion with him. If, after that, he wishes to come to Agra, he may do so. Tell him that, if he wishes, he can stay there for two and a half months. Look after him. I feel sorry that he will be coming from such a long distance and his visit will be fruitless. I had written to him and told him that he could come, if he wished.

2. I was alarmed to read about the mistakes in our account books. You know my faith in Narandas in this matter. I should like you to take his full help for this work and be guided by him. Lakshmidas, too, knows this job well. There should be neither a moment's delay about this nor any slackness.

3. The water in the well must have been cleaned.

4. Think and decide soon whether the house occupied by Bhansali should be used for women's work.

5. What happened about Zaverbhai's wife?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 122-3

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", p. 369; also the following item.

304. LETTER TO DR. HIRALAL SHARMA

September 7, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

You will be at the Ashram on Monday to find me away. I am sorry. But I am glad you have come. Please discuss the food question with those who were trying unfired food. You can stay as long as you wish at the Ashram. And if you will follow me you can come to Agra. I shall be there till 20th. We can discuss my failure. I should love to resume the experiment if I get proper guidance. Thanks, I had your book. The two principal volumes I have brought with me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5429

305. NOTE ON DISPUTE BETWEEN MILL-OWNERS AND WORKERS[1]

BOMBAY,
September 7, 1929

There are approximately more than 55,000 labourers employed in the textile mills of Ahmedabad. In 1923, the mills were not in the same happy position in which they were in 1920-21; mill-owners, therefore, cut the workers' wages by 15½ per cent. This reduction was not made through the medium of the *panch* in accordance with the agreement between the mill-owners and the workers. The latter resorted to a prolonged strike in which they were not successful. For the last eight months or so, the labourers have been demanding that this cut should be restored. Finally, this issue was entrusted to the *panch*, which includes Sheth Mangaldas Girdhardas and myself. I regret to say that we could not reach unanimity about our decision. The mill-owners have raised the objection that the cut made in 1923 was effected with the consent of both the parties. It was also argued that the cut was introduced through the *panch* and that, in whatever way the cut might

[1] This note, intended for submission to an umpire, was on the fresh issue raised by the Labour Union, viz., that the cut in the workers' wages effected in 1923 was not justified. *Vide* pp. 270-1.

have been effected, the workers had no right now to ask for its annulment. Moreover, the owners maintain that the financial condition of the mills does not permit this and finally that the wages which the workers get at present are in excess of their needs.

As against this the labourers say that

1. no verdict was given by the *panch* in 1923;

2. the labourers had not accepted the wage-cut willingly but because of their inability to prolong the strike;

3. whatever the facts of the case, the wages received by the workers in 1923 were barely sufficient to meet their needs. They have had to bear greater loss because of the cut.

From the evidence presented before the *panch* I have come to the conclusion that all the three points put forward by the labourers are valid. I am also of opinion that in matters regarding wages, etc., decisions given at any particular time do not hold good for ever. Hence, whenever such cases are put forward by the workers or the mill-owners, the *panch* is bound to examine the pros and cons and then give its verdict.

In my opinion, there is only one important matter that needs to be examined. Are the wages paid at present sufficient to meet the labourers' basic needs? If they are not, so long as the condition of a mill does not deteriorate to the extent that it has to be run by drawing on its capital, no reduction should be made in the wages of the labourers who are working while suffering a loss. On the basis of the facts presented before the *panch*, I have come to the conclusion that the majority of labourers do not get a living wage.

Two official publications were presented before the *panch*.

1. Report on an Inquiry into the Wages and Hours of Labour in the Cotton Mill Industry, 1923

2. Report on an Inquiry into Working-class Family Budgets of Ahmedabad, 1928

The actual average wage of an Ahmedabad mill-workers amounts to Rs. 27-7-0 and, provided he is not absent even for a single day, it can go up to Rs. 33-7-6 (*vide* the first publication, pp. 11-2).

The figures of expenditure presented from the side of labour indicate that the monthly expenditure of a family amounts to Rs. 49-13-6 (see Appendix A). These figures relate to a Hindu family. The expenditure of a Muslim family is even more. Hence, on the whole, the labourers do suffer a loss. The expenditure figure accepted in the second publication mentioned above is Rs. 39-5-8 (*vide* p. 37).

The reason for this discrepancy is that, as proved by that document, it does not take into account item No. 22 (interest) and No. 24 (social expenses), and the figures for item No. 8 (milk) and No. 14 (fuel) are lower. In my opinion, this expense is necessary and reasonable. The amount which has to be paid by way of interest is partly unavoidable and partly avoidable. Interest which has to be paid on grocery which is bought on credit as the wages are low is unavoidable, whereas the expense on liquor and such things which is incurred by borrowing money can be avoided. Hence the interest that is actually paid is not taken into account, but rather that which would have to be paid. Social expenses are also inevitable. Labourers, or for that matter anyone else, may starve but will see to it that social obligations of his family and caste are met. Hence, even after hearing all that was said on the side of the mill-owners, I find no reason to reduce the figures of expenditure presented by the labourers.

The various classes of textile workers deserve to be noted:

(a) Those numbering 13,482 who earn a wage of Rs. 30 to Rs. 40.

Persons working in the weaving department mainly constitute this class. It is made up exclusively of men—there are no women in it.

(b) Those numbering 32,828 who earn a wage of Rs. 6 to Rs. 30.

This includes people working in the following sections of the textile industry: carding, blow-room, frame, spinning, reeling, binding, engineering, etc. Besides men, women as well as children are employed in these sections. Their numbers are as follows:

1.	Men workers	17,381
2.	Women workers	6,602
3.	Children (from 14 to 18 years of age)	2,363
4.	Children (who work for half a day and under 14 years of age)	

(NOTE: The figures given in b(2) include the 1,976 women who are employed in the winding department. Their income, unlike that of the women working in other sections, does not add up to the income of the men working in this section.)

These figures indicate that even in class (b), there remains a large section in which, as in class (a), only men are employed.

The wage-earning class in section (b) earns only around Rs. 33. This is testified by the second publication mentioned above (*vide* table 1, p. 11).

The families of workers belonging to class (a) do not generally work.

There are about 2,300 labourers whose income exceeds Rs. 40. In addition, there are 1,670 jobbers, 1,651 clerks, 1,171 watchmen and others. There had, however, been no cut in their wages in 1923.

NOTE: These figures have been extracted from publication No. 1 in which detailed information has been given regarding all workers employed in the textile mills of Ahmedabad in August 1923. The total number in that year has been shown as 52,038 but since then there has been an increase in this number.

In publication No. 2, the average income of all labourers in Ahmedabad has been calculated as Rs. 44-8-0. In publication No. 1, the maximum amount has been given as Rs. 33-7-6. In the latter, labourers working in places other than textile mills have not been included. Also it does not include income earned outside of that occupation. But it does give the average income of all labourers employed in textile mills. In publication No. 2, the income from all sources and the entire labour force have been taken into account but the principal distinction in No. 2 is that the inquiry is restricted to only 872 families, whereas in No. 1, the wages of all labourers employed in textile mills have been taken into account. In publication No. 2, the inquiry covers the following wage-earners:

INCOMEWISE NUMBER OF FAMILIES

INCOME GROUP	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	TOTAL PERCENTAGE
Under Rs. 20	17	1.15
Between Rs. 20 and Rs. 30	146	16.74
,, Rs. 30 and Rs. 40	182	20.87
,, Rs. 40 and Rs. 50	220	25.23
,, Rs. 50 and Rs. 60	157	18.01
,, Rs. 60 and Rs. 70	73	8.37
,, Rs. 70 and Rs. 80	45	5.16
,, Rs. 80 and Rs. 90	32	3.67
	872	100(p.c.)

In other words, the income of 527 families is over Rs. 40. Whereas, as indicated by me above, the larger part of the class of labourers who are demanding the withdrawal of the cut has an income below Rs. 40 and of this too the majority has an income of under Rs. 30. Hence any kind of inquiry proves that the majority of workers earn less than they spend.

An argument advanced by the mill-owners is that even today the mills are running at a loss. I regard the evidence given in support of this as rather weak. It is possible that a few mills are running at a loss; but the majority of them would not incur losses. If the shareholders were given a smaller dividend or if the percentage in respect of depreciation were not deducted before declaring the dividend and if nothing can be taken to the Reserve Fund. I would not place these as losses as against the wages of labourers.

I must mention one point here. Labour had put forward two arguments in support of its demand. I have already discussed one of them. The second was that mills were at present making such profits that they should withdraw the wage-cut. Labour, on its part, could not prove this and on this the *panch* has given a unanimous verdict.[1]

It is my opinion that the other point has been proved by labour. There is an understanding between my colleague and myself that the papers put before the *panch* should be sent by both these parties to a *Sarpanch*[2].

I have to write out my verdict first; after seeing it my colleague should write out his[3]; after seeing the latter, I should offer my comments.

If the *Sarpanch* wishes to consult the *panch*, they should meet at a time and place convenient to all three.

If the *Sarpanch* feels that any further proof is necessary, he has the right to ask for it.

Besides the papers which have already been presented, if any of the parties wish to present any more facts relating to the point in question before the *Sarpanch*, they can do so after showing it to each other.

Finally, since unrest is spreading among the labourers as a result of the delay in the decision, the *Sarpanch* is requested to give his decision as early as possible.

I have to tour the U.P. till the 24th of November, but if the *Sarpanch* wants to ask me anything, he should write to me care of the Satyagraha Ashram, whence the letter will be forwarded to me wherever I am and I shall send the *Sarpanch* whatever replies I may have to after consulting my collegue.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 14974

[1] *Vide* pp. 283-4.

[2] Umpire

[3] For the note by Sheth Mangaldas, *vide* S.N. 14975.

306. "IF SPINNERS ALSO WEAVE?"

I have received one or two similar articles. I have published this one[1] as I felt that it was the best. The others deal with the same subject but the treatment is not so good.

Shivabhai's calculations appear to be defective.[2] However, we should overlook this and understand the underlying principle. Very often it has been the case that, whereas the results calculated by us or our conjectures are correct, the arguments or figures adduced in support thereof are either weak or incorrect. What I feel basically is the fact that spinners can never become weavers on a large scale. Hence, it cannot become an indivisible part of the scheme of self-reliance, and no attempt should be made to do so. The other pole of this scheme should be voluntarily accepted dependence on others. In this case, it is futile to cite the examples of Bijolia and Bardoli. The circumstances in both those places were of an unusual nature. In ordinary circumstances it is the case that everyone has moments of leisure when he must spin and get the yarn spun by him woven in his own village. Not only is there no objection here to spinners learning to weave, but rather it is our duty to provide facilities for them to do so. However, there is no need to carry on any propaganda for this.

Let me put this in another way. If a *brahmachari* who lives by himself or a widow who has no means of support gins, cards, spins and weaves, that will be regarded as doing business at a loss. Such a person will by weaving alone earn six to eight times as much as one who merely spins; and, he or she should indeed do so or find out some such independent occupation. However, where there is a large family, one person can become a weaver. It is my idea that we should enlarge the concept of our family. Our village is our family of which all its residents are members. Our ideal is not a Robinson Crusoe living on a desolate island, but a family which extends over the entire world. In order to reach it, it is but a natural step forward to turn over village into a single family. Man is a social animal. His country is this small planet—the world. In it everyone will carry on an all-pervasive activity. What extends over the family will be done by the family and the same applies, in its turn, to the town and

[1] This article by Sitaram Purushottam Patwardhan is not translated here.
[2] *Vide* footnote 2, p. 345.

the country as a whole. However, this will be done not with a view to destroying one another, but rather to sustain one another. In my view, the spinning-wheel is a universal thing, while the loom is confined to either the family or the village. The cooking-fire and the spinning-wheel are to be found in every home but the same cannot be said of the loom. It can be clearly shown that this involves an economic disadvantage. Whatever is basically harmful on economic grounds is also certainly harmful from the religious point of view. Untainted wealth can never be opposed to religion.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-9-1929

307. MESSAGE TO KATHIAWAR YOUTH CONFERENCE[1]

Youths, listen to everyone, but decide your own course of action, do not be carried away by speeches. Concentrate on work and learn to be quiet. Your speech being your work, you will be worthy of being heard after you have rendered substantial service to the people.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 8-9-1929

308. MY NOTES

Nature's Wrath

The fury that Nature has let loose on Sind is indescribable. The thought of it stuns me and it reveals the might of Nature on the one side and our littleness on the other. But man's dharma is compassion above everything else. When he is under its influence, he is led to do his utmost, aware of his own limitations. We sympathize with a man or a family, if we can. We get some satisfaction by sharing our food with anyone who is hungry. Our humanity consists in giving away everything and still not feeling satisfied about it. To give away everything is a noble human quality and there is no room for pride in something which is one's inborn quality. A Gujarati should not consider himself different

[1] Held under the presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru and attended by 1,400 delegates

from a Sindhi when patriotic fervour is in the air. Just as family members though having different names do not consider themselves different, so also we are all one though belonging to different States. That is why we should share each other's sorrow. Gujarat has the ability to give much and keep accounts properly. All those who feel sorry for Sind should donate generously. They should send their names if they sincerely want to go and serve there. All the money will be sent to Professor Malkaniji who has shouldered the responsibility of this work. Sardar Vallabhbhai has already sent Rs. 15,000 out of Gujarat Flood Relief Fund. But what is Rs. 15,000 when the disaster is much greater than Gujarat's?

THE MEANING OF YAJNA

A reader writes:[1]

It is a fact based on actual experience that violence is involved in lighting a fire. The Shastras have not said that the *yajnas* of the past did not involve violence. However, they regarded as innocent the violence practised in the course of a *yajna*, just as we salve or cheat our conscience by regarding as innocent a diet of vegetables although we are aware that it involves violence.

If the *rishis*[2] and *munis*[3] of the past had sacrificed animals, it is my firm belief that at that time the need for such sacrifice was felt; however, today there is no need for doing so; it is a savage and cruel practice. I regard such acts of offering animals at sacrifices as not only not religious in this age, but as irreligious acts, and hence wish to see them stopped for good. That the concept of *yajna* in the *Gita* has a universal and altruistic implication may be construed from the verses preceding and following that verse and from the central argument itself of the *Gita*. Hence the meaning of *yajna* approved by the *Gita* is: It is an act which is performed solely for the sake of service or from a purely altruistic standpoint. And here a narrow interpretation of the term service is utterly rejected.

That alone is service where no harm has been wished or done to any living creature.

SELF-PURIFICATION

In many parts of the country, the *yajna* for self-purification begun in 1920 is still going on unperceived. A fresh proof of this is the purification that is going on among our *Antyaja* brethren. A weaver, Ramji Gopal, has handed me a letter. It contains the

[1] The letter is not translated here.
[2] Seers
[3] Ascetics

names of 53 persons from 13 towns in Kathiawar who have taken a pledge to give up liquor and such other things. All of them have given up drinking; some have given up smoking and opium, and some others have given up even meat. Shri Ramji has given me their names after they had kept their pledge for a year. There is no doubt that such activity is going on at many places. And its distinctive feature is that there is no artificiality in it or in other words there is no element of compulsion in it, and also that it is not being carried on by persons who do not belong to that society, but rather voluntarily by reformers thrown up by that very society. I offer congratulations to such invisible, silent workers. Let them accept my best wishes and let there be widespread emulation of these persons.

A BHANGI BROTHER FROM BULSAR

Shri Chhotubhai Shah writes from Bulsar:[1]

I hope that the necessary reforms will be carried out now without further delay.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-9-1929

309. REBIRTH OF THE SPINNING-WHEEL

I do feel some hesitation in publishing this letter[2] as, both Kakasaheb and Balkrishna, who understand the structure of machines and to some extent know how to construct them, feel that the basic defect is such that it cannot be remedied. I also keep receiving other letters which testify to the basic defect. Then again, a gentleman writes:[3]

Despite this, I felt it was proper to publish the above letter, as what I wrote[4] while publishing the original scheme holds good even today. Whether his scheme succeeds or fails Shri Hiralal's efforts are praiseworthy. His own faith in the scheme is equally

[1] The letter is not translated here. The addressee had written that the rains had delayed the work of digging wells and putting up roofs for the Bhangis of Bulsar. He promised to relieve them of their debts.

[2] The letter by Hiralal Amritlal Shah is not translated here. It described an improved type of spinning-wheel devised by him.

[3] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had contended that if yarn was subjected to twisting at a later stage, as in the case of the hollow spindle, it became weak.

[4] *Vide* p. 343.

praiseworthy. He does not believe that it is perfect. All that he wishes to say is that a new type of powerful spinning-wheel is a possibility and that it can be produced at a very low cost, and he has put before the public, in as systematic a manner as he could, whatever ideas occurred to him in this regard. I now wish to make a suggestion to Shri Hiralal and other innovators like him. They should not merely discuss the merits or demerits of their schemes, but those like Shri Hiralal who regard improvement as a possibility should have spinning-wheels made according to their designs and, after testing them, put the results before the public. I regard it as futile waste of time and energy merely to discuss a scheme which can be readily tested by putting it into practice. Shri Hiralal claims that the basic defect which has been pointed out does not exist. I hope this is the case and if so, it is something which can be easily proved. And the greatest achievement is his who has an unflinching faith. Hence my advice to Shri Hiralal is that, rather than enter into controversies in newspapers, etc., he should devote some time every day to putting his scheme into practice. The diagram accompanying Shri Hiralal's scheme and an explanation regarding it are being published as a supplement[1] to this issue of *Navajivan.*

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 8-9-1929

310. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

[ON THE TRAIN,]
September 8, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I know that you have a heavy responsibility. But as you have faith in God, everything will surely be all right. Withdraw your resignation. Regard both respect and disrespect alike.

Never forget the smallest thing; if you have an orderly mind you will forget nothing at all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8728. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

[1] Not translated here

311. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

September 8, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We reach Bhopal in a few minutes. I am keeping good health. You must have got the letter[1] I wrote yesterday. Kishorelal keeps indifferent health. He had a little fever yesterday.

Tell Surendra that I met Nathji. He will come there in a few days to meet Marathe.

I may get some news about Gopalrao today in Bhopal. But the probability is slight.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5430

312. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

Sunday, September 8, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got the letters of you both. Sushila may certainly come when she wants to. I shall arrange to keep everything ready for her to return immediately if she so desires. I am dictating this letter at Bhopal. Kanti is taking it down and I am spinning at the wheel. Today is Sunday. It is already evening. My silence period is about to begin. Among the others accompanying me are Kusumbehn, Jamnabehn and Pyarelal. Pyarelal's sister will be with us till we reach Agra, and Jamnalalji, too, will remain with us at least till we leave this place. The scenery around here is very pleasant. Sanchi, the place known for Buddhist art, is near here. We shall visit it on Tuesday. The lake here also is famous all over India. The surrounding scenery is beautiful and stretches some six or seven miles.

Silence Day

You have put me a question regarding the continuation of *Indian Opinion*. It is useless for me to write anything on the matter from here. You may do there whatever seems possible. If you finally decide to close it down, you should certainly consult

[1] *Vide* p. 358.

the Trustees there before doing so. Take the advice of Umar Sheth also.

It is surprising that you should have raised the question of marriage with a member of the Marwari community. I think I once told you that, if the proposal for Sushila had not been received, I had nearly decided to betroth you to a Bengali girl. What I had said was that I was not prepared to go so far as to approve of marriage with anyone outside one's community—though of course there is no sin even in such a marriage. But it has been my considered opinion that inter-provincial marriages are a very good thing.

Others would have nothing to say against us for not being vaccinated as long as we remain in a given place while the epidemic rages there. However, why should I involve either of you in that botheration? Do what your conscience tells you and what is within your capacity. You need not now be guided by me on this subject. The proper course for you is to read the literature on the subject and form your own views independently, and then act on them. The majority of people get vaccinated. Only a few like me do not.

Nimu will have her delivery shortly. She is at Lakhtar. I cannot say why Ramdas does not write. I have written to him. As for Nimu, she is lazy.

Devdas has gone to Almora as Mathuradas's wife has fallen ill. Otherwise he would have seen me at Agra the day after tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4759

313. APPEAL TO MILL-WORKERS

September 9, 1929[1]

Mahatma Gandhi and Sheth Mangaldas to whom the question of restoration of the cut in the wages was referred with a view to arbitration by the labour Union and the Mill-owners' Association have now announced that owing to difference of opinion between them the question will be referred to an umpire for final decision and that they have selected as umpire Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Zaveri, retired judge, Bombay High Court. Mahatma Gandhi has issued an appeal to the workmen to have patience and preserve peace. He

[1] Released on this date by the Associated Press from Ahmedabad

says that he is aware that there is some restlessness among them owing to the delay in the announcement of the arbitrators' decision. He assures them that he will try to obtain the decision of the umpire as soon as possible. He will do what he can for them during his tour in the United Provinces and get information regarding their welfare.

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-9-1929

314. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

September 9, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter and the pile of other mail sent by you. I will write to Jagjivandas. I think it best to send him your letter. Truth may be bitter like poison in the beginning, but in the end it proves to be as sweet as *amrit*[1]. We should not, therefore, feel worried. We have got into the wrong habit of saying nice things to one another, and we must overcome it.

You should indulge in self-depreciation less often now. Hold firmly to the thought that the man of faith always succeeds and offer up your very thoughts in the *yajna* of duty. Self-examination is good, but there are limits to the utility of self-depreciation.

We must become perfect in making the bread on which depends the health of so many. The person in charge of the job should not, therefore, be changed.

I approve of the changes you have made in regard to keeping of accounts. We should become perfect in this sphere too. The truth is that a secretary should have a thousand eyes and a thousand hands. He should be attentive to the smallest detail.

I suppose I told you about Perrins of Jamshedpur. Sitting in his room, he used to be in contact with all departments with the help of the telephone, get reports from them day and night and give whatever instructions he wanted to give. This was vigilance of a demoniac character. We do not go to the length of installing a telephone but our vigilance should be greater even than that of Perrins. If the disinterested attitude really develops in us, though occupied with our daily work we would be enjoying infinite peace and also would not appear worn out in body. The inert machine wears out through use, whereas the *atman* shines the brighter through the exercise of its powers and seems to grow

[1] Nectar

ever new, and, therefore, the body which is its habitation also seems even fresh. I have written about the ideal state. I know that I myself am far away from that state, and I have, therefore, little right to write about it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5431; also *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 124-5

315. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

September 9, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have been of course a little anxious on your account, and that is because you do not at present seem to be quite yourself. Do only what you can and never worry. That is what you need. You must not worry simply because you cannot fulfil the high expectations that I might have of you. It is my duty to have such expectations, but a son or daughter can only do his or her best. If they try to do more, they would break down or become quite unnatural in behaviour and their lives would be wasted. Take care of your health. The climate here at Bhopal is excellent. The natural scenery also is beautiful. We shall reach Agra the day after tomorrow. Perhaps Jamnalalji will part company with us here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9265; also C.W. 512. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit

316. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

Silence Day, September 9, 1929

CHI. PREMA,

I understand your suffering, and still more, your love. I very much like your devotion to duty. Never have any doubt that now it is only by following the path you are doing that you will be able to achieve self-purification, enjoy peace and do service to the country. If you have learnt something from your stay at the

Ashram, be determined not to leave it so that you may bring credit to yourself, to the Ashram and to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 10213; also C.W. 6661. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

317. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

September 9, 1929

SISTERS,

Today I have to do the work for the Gujarati *Navajivan*, the *Hindi Navajivan* and *Young India* and have little time. Please, therefore, excuse me if I am brief and be as pleased as if this were a long letter. Though I am here, think of me as in your midst. All of you should be one in heart, help one another and bring credit to yourselves and to the Mandir.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3700

318. A LETTER

On Tour

SABARMATI,[1]
September 9, 1929

THE SECRETARY
A. I. C. C.
HEWETT ROAD
ALLAHABAD

DEAR SIR,

I send you herewith the information which at last I have been able to secure from the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Enclosure

A.I.C.C. File No. 151, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Permanent Address

319. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BHOPAL[1]

September 10, 1929

I confess that when yielding to the loving insistence of His Highness[2] and Dr. Ansari I accepted the invitation to visit Bhopal, I was prepared to find here the same regal splendour, the same wasteful blaze of luxury as one comes across in our other present-day Indian States. But to my agreeable surprise I found His Highness living in a 'palace' which could be called as such only by courtesy, and which in fact would not stand comparison even with the lovely palatial residence of Dr. Ansari who was after all medical adviser to His Highness. . . .

Gandhiji reiterated his belief that the existence of the Indian Princes' rule was in no way inconsistent with the evolution of true democracy. He was therefore no enemy of Indian States, and he entertained every hope of their reaching his ideal of democratic swaraj which he often interpreted as *Ramarajya*. Using the word '*Ramarajya*' in a Mussalman state and for an audience which had a very large number of Mussalmans in it, he immediately said:

I warn my Mussalman friends against misunderstanding me in my use of the word '*Ramarajya*'. By '*Ramarajya*' I do not mean Hindu Raj. I mean by '*Ramarajya*' Divine Raj, the Kingdom of God. For me Rama and Rahim are one and the same deity. I acknowledge no other God but the one God of Truth and righteousness. Whether the Rama of my imagination ever lived or not on this earth, the ancient ideal of *Ramarajya* is undoubtedly one of true democracy in which the meanest citizen could be sure of swift justice without an elaborate and costly procedure. Even the dog is described by the poet to have received justice under *Ramarajya*.

In alluding to his belief in Hindu-Muslim unity he recalled his friendship with the late Hakim Saheb Ajmal Khan and asked for contributions to the Ajmal Jamia college and in so doing mentioned the heroic sacrifice of Dr. Zakir Husain and his colleagues who had reduced their honorariums to what might be termed a starvation point. He asked the Hindus to give up untouchability if they would save Hinduism, and he reminded both Hindus and Mussalmans, that if they would identify themselves with the poorest in the

[1] This appeared under the title "The U. P. Tour".
[2] The ruler of Bhopal

land they were bound to exclude from their wardrobes all foreign cloth and take to khadi and encourage the spread of the spinning-wheel. In response to his appeal for contributions for the Ajmal Jamia Fund, a committee was formed at once to make house-to-house collections.

Young India, 19-9-1929

320. RESOLUTION ON AJMAL JAMIA FUND[1]

[*September 11, 1929*]

Whereas it is necessary to maintain the Jamia Millia, Delhi, as a memorial to the late Hakim Ajmal Khan Saheb, this meeting of the Trustees of the Ajmal Jamia Fund hereby resolves that out of the sums so far collected a sum of Rs. 1000/- be retained with the treasurer and the balance be transferred to the Jamia to constitute a reserve fund for permanent investments and meeting the deficit between the current income and expenditure and in future all sums received be handed over to the Jamia for the same purpose.

All sums received prior to the date and not passed through the hands of the Treasurer shall be accounted to him and this meeting authorizes the Treasurer to legalize the expenditure of that money by the Jamia authorities under the sanction of the President. The Treasurer be authorized to appoint a duly certified auditor for the auditing of the accounts of the Fund.

From a microfilm: S. N. 15580

321. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,
September 11, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I send with this a copy of the letter I have written to Jagjivandas. You must have received the letters which were posted yesterday at Bhopal.

[1] In a letter to Gandhiji dated December 11, 1929, Dr. Zakir Husain wrote: "I beg to enclose herewith copy for your file of the resolution passed by the trustees of the Ajmal Jamia Fund on the 11th September, 1929, at Bhopal." The source contains the names of Gandhiji, Zakir Hussain, Dr. M. A. Ansari and Jamnalal Bajaj as signatories.

Prabhavati arrived here yesterday. Sharma too has come. I am very happy indeed. We are not likely to learn much even from him. I have told him that he may go home from here. Devdas has gone to Almora. Whenever you write to me, give me news about Bhansali. Gopalrao must have recovered, and come back to the Mandir.

Let me know what was done about my suggestion to shift the women's work centre to the house occupied by Bhansali. I hear from Manilal that it is already fixed that Dr. Mehta will come in October. We should, therefore, make our arrangements soon. What happened about Zaverbhai's wife?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5432; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 125-6

322. *LETTER TO JAGJIVANDAS*

AGRA,
September 11, 1929

BHAISHRI JAGJIVANDAS,

I enclose Bhai Chhaganlal Joshi's letter on the subject of the temple at Lathi. You will see that his criticism is severe; if it is well founded, he deserves to be thanked for it. If his criticism does you injustice in any way, you should not get angry, considering that the criticism proceeded from a pure motive. If the criticism is justified, you should acknowledge the great mistake you have made and, in future, think many times before shouldering such a responsibility. You will see from Bhai Chhaganlal's letter that an effort is being made to obtain money for the expenditure already incurred. As for the work that remains to be done, get necessary help from some source and finish it. Please return Chhaganlal's letter.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15422

323. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, AGRA[1]

September 11, 1929

Gandhiji whilst thanking them[2] on their collection[3] and the admirable restraint which they had shown in presenting all their addresses at a single function declined to accept their plea in the Agra citizens' address that hard times justified the limited size of their purse.

I know that the moneyed citizens of Agra could have made the purse bigger if they had wished. Hard times cannot serve as a justification for them, for it is a notorious fact that famine conditions present opportunities for profiteering to the middlemen class of which they are not slow to take advantage. Hard times instead of putting a curb on your generosity ought to serve as a stimulant in the present case, because khadi work for which the various purses are being raised is just the activity *par excellence* which is calculated to alleviate the distress caused by famine conditions.

He asked the audience to give substantially to the volunteers as soon as they approached them. He had made it clear in his Andhra speeches that he did not want addresses framed, for he had no place to keep them and every rupee spent in framing meant the loss of one woman's subsistence for 16 days. He said he meant no disrespect if he wanted to auction them. He had done so before and one address in Andhra fetched Rs. 10,000.[4]

I am here to redeclare my faith in the potency of non-co-operation. You have all got to prepare for January 1930 from now. The A.I.C.C. has already laid down the conditions by fulfilling which alone, in its opinion, swaraj by non-violent means can be attained. It is the triple constructive programme, viz., the boycott of foreign cloth through khadi, the suppression of the drink and drug evil and the elimination of untouchability by the Hindus. And since all this work can be effectively done through a proper Congress organization, the reorganization of the Congress by the enrolment of Congress members is a necessity. Let me warn you solemnly that if we do nothing now, swaraj or

[1] This appeared under the title "The U. P. Tour".

[2] District Congress Committee, District Board, Municipal Board and Agra Youth League

[3] A joint collection of Rs. 8,000 out of which Rs. 4,000 represented Agra citizens' purse

[4] This paragraph is from *The Leader*, 15-9-1929.

independence is not going to drop down from heaven by a mere declaration by the Congress in December. I will go further and say, that unless in the mean time we shall have forged an effective sanction to back our declaration which we want to make, if the Government should refuse to accept by the midnight of December 31, 1929 the national demand, our declaration will remain a dead letter and we shall be unable to do anything effective during 1930.

Young India, 19-9-1929

324. MY LIMITATIONS

It is not without grief and great hesitation that I have been instrumental in a meeting of the A.I.C.C. being called for the purpose of electing the president for the forthcoming session of the Congress. Friends have been sending me urgent wires and writing to me not to precipitate a crisis, to reconsider my decision and avoid the convening of the A.I.C.C. meeting. I have been reluctantly obliged to disappoint them. The only consolation I can give them is that their grief over my decision cannot be greater than mine. I believe in waiting on God for guidance. I have no light from within. Confidence does not come to me.

I have a lively sense of what must be regarded as my limitations. I have no faith in the council programme. I have no faith in Government schools and colleges. I have still less in the so-called courts of justice where when justice is obtained it is found to be too dear, and where it is almost unobtainable when the question for decision is as between the ruling race and the subject race on a vital point. I have no faith in spectacular demonstrations. Whilst I want power for labour and its progressive welfare, I do not believe in its exploitation for a mere political end. I believe in unadulterated non-violence, I do not believe in the possibility of India (whatever other countries might have attained) attaining swaraj in terms of the millions by violent means. I believe that unity between Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Parsis, Jews, Christians and others is essential for the attainment of swaraj. I believe the removal of untouchability to be equally essential for our purpose. Indeed I have no desire to obtain swaraj, even if it was possible, at the sacrifice of a single legitimate interest of a single minority. I do not believe the Mussalman to be the natural enemy of the Hindu nor the Englishman of the Indian. I want for my compassing my end the co-operation of both the Mussalman

and the Englishman. My non-co-operation though it is part of my creed is a prelude to co-operation. My non-co-operation is with methods and systems, never with men. I may not harbour ill will even against a Dyer. I regard ill will as beneath the dignity of man. The reader should now have no difficulty, if he had been patient with me so far, in bearing with me for saying that I am no enemy of capital nor of Indian States. I believe the one to be consistent with the highest status attainable by labour and the other with the highest status attainable by the people. Need I repeat my growing faith in the life-giving wheel and khadi?

I feel that among Congressmen there can only be a microscopic minority going with me in this long recital of credos. With most one or the other of the credos must be a veritable stumbling block. Is it any wonder, if I feel that as president of the Congress I should be a round man in a square hole? The president of the Congress must be a man, not one commanding respect from a safe distance, but one who represents in every fibre of his being the sum total of what the nation stands for. I dare not submit myself for that test.

But I know that if I am allowed to work in detachment, in spite of my limitations I can render useful service to the nation. My advice therefore to the members of the A.I.C.C. and those who can influence them is not to press me to accept an office for which I seem to myself to be so ill-fitted. They will recognize that it is not want of will, it is the want of capacity, that deters me. An incapable president is surely worse than useless.

Young India, 12-9-1929

325. FOUR FUNCTIONS

During my day's stay in Bombay on my way to Bhopal I had four interesting functions to attend to. The first was the opening of a crafts block in connection with the national school in Vile Parle. It is an institution to which several young men have dedicated their lives. It should be the pride of the men and women of Bombay to support it. An ill-equipped national school is any day preferable to the best-equipped school run under the aegis of an anti-national authority, even as a humble, dilapidated hut is any day preferable to a palatial jail with all creature comforts anticipated. The distinguishing feature of the two varieties is, that in the national school the first lesson of the boys and girls is loyalty

to one's country without limitations, in the second even this indispensable thing is subject to loyalty to a foreign rule.

The second function was the laying of the foundation stone of a building which is to serve as a nucleus for the service of India's women. It is a creation of the energy and devotion of Sjt. Karsandas Chitalia of the Servants of India Society. He has set himself apart for mute service of the woman's cause. Though in my opinion the erection of the building is premature till he has found a steady, selfless, sober, tried woman who would devote herself to the cause and a few girls at least who would follow her, I have yielded to his superior faith and devotion, and not only laid the foundation but devoted a large part of the purse of nearly Rs. 25,000 presented to me ten years ago through his and Shrimati Jaiji Petit's labours. True service of any cause is rendered by raising of stout hearts than buildings. Brick and mortar have no power to attract true hearts. But they come into being whenever they are needed by true and stout hearts. At any rate it is my prayer and hope that this building will fulfil the noble aspirations of Karsandas Chitalia. I know that he would not have been happy without it.

The third function took place at Vanita Vishram for helping the blind. I must again make the confession as in the case of Karsandas Chitalia, that it was not the demonstrable strength of the cause as the faith and devotion of Sjt. H. D. Chhatrapati, and Sjt. B. Khambhatta that induced me to preside at the function. I had the privilege of knowing the blind brother of Sjt. H. D. Chhatrapati, i.e., Dr. Nilkanthrai Chhatrapati. But being wholly immersed in the cause of the starving millions who are worse than the physically blind, I have not been able to take any active interest in the latter. It required the magnetic touch of these two friends to draw me. There is at Tardeo the Happy Home for the Blind. It was for this institution that the meeting was called. How happy that Home is the curious and philanthropically minded reader must find out for himself or herself. The conductors invite scrutiny, but they also invite all

(a) to furnish the Home with funds,
(b) to send the blind they can get hold of, and
(c) to induce Municipalities and the like to do likewise.

It is stated that there are 15,00,000 of totally blind people in India and that nearly 70 per cent of these are curable if treated in time. They state also that the number of partially blind is 2½ times as much as that of the totally blind. Sjt. Chhatrapati also

mentioned the interesting but painful fact, that the blind beggars in Bombay received from 4 to 5 rupees daily and that the money mostly went into the pockets of the conductors whom the blind beggars employed. If therefore instead of our charity being blind, as it undoubtedly is today in many cases, it became enlightened, and if then we refused to pay anything to the beggars but took the trouble of sending them to the home or homes designed for them and helped the homes, we should save the nation's money and in the bargain make the blind fit for earning their livelihood as they can be made without much difficulty.

The fourth function was a visit to the new and more commodious abode of the A.I.S.A. Khadi Bhandar at 396, Kalbadevi. During its seven years' existence it has sold nineteen lakhs rupees worth of khadi. It employs today 31 salesmen, 18 tailors and a varying but large number of washermen, dyers and printers. For tailoring it pays yearly over Rs. 15,000, for washing over Rs. 9,500 and for dyeing, etc., Rs. 8,800. Khadi is stocked today in 1,660 separate items. The slow yet marvellous evolution that khadi has undergone during the short period of its revival is stimulating and encouraging. A visit only should be enough to convert the sceptic who would go there with an open mind.

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326. A TRUE HERO

Sheth Jamnalalji has just told me of the heroic death of a brave Sind worker. He was working in Larkhana and was known for his bravery and sacrifice. The reader knows that cholera has broken out in many parts of Sind, including Larkhana. Sjt. Lahori —for that is the name of this worker—was at that time working there. He sent away his people, but himself he would not move in spite of the expostulations of friends. The goddess of cholera being no respector of persons caught Lahori also in her trap, and he is now gone leaving Larkhana and all those who knew him wailing after him. For him here as well as up above there is nothing but shouts of 'Well done, Lahori!' I do not send my condolences to the bereaved family. To them I tender my congratulations as also to the people of Larkhana for having given to India such a noble example of unadulterated heroism. To the young men and young women of India in general and Sind in particular I commend the example of Lahori for emulation. Let us learn to shed all fear of death in the face of calamity,

and let us also learn the spirit of sacrifice which actuated Lahori to hold fast on to the post of duty.

Young India, 12-9-1929

327. NOTES

Kenya Indians

The deputation from Kenya is to be congratulated on taking a firm stand about the fundamentals, not that justice will be done to them on that account. The Kenya Europeans have so entrenched themselves as to dictate terms to the authorities in Downing Street. Justice therefore can only be expected if they could develop the spirit of civil resistance or we in India could assert ourselves. But whether our countrymen overseas could show resistance or not or whether we in India could clothe them with protection or not, we may not voluntarily surrender the principle of equality. The franchise must be common to all and there should be equal property rights.

Anna against Idleness

Replying to the criticism that spinning brings a poor return, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari said at the opening of the Khadi Exhibition at the Tamilnad Conference at Vidyaranyam:[1]

> We offer spinning as a nationwide remedy for present conditions. The relief may be insignificant, but it is certain and immediate, and does not base its efficacy on depopulation or expropriation. If anyone is able not merely to decry and ridicule but to discover a better remedy and organizes a better, new supplementary occupation for the masses, spinning may be withdrawn in favour of it.
>
> Destructive criticism without any positive contribution tends but to kill the spirit of human effort. Khadi puts the spirit of industry in place of the deadly darkness of idleness. . . . We all want our millions to earn not merely one anna more but one rupee more per working day. . . . but until the rupee is found let no one despise the extra anna. . . .

Young India, 12-9-1929

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

328. COMMUNICATIONS WITH SPIRITS

Several correspondents have been inquiring whether I receive communications from the spirits of the dead, and whether I do or not, whether I believe in the possibility of, and if yes, approve of, such communications. The latest inquirer writes as follows:[1]

> . . . I have had the occasion to know a bit of the Indian Spiritualist Society of Bombay. . . . Recently a boy was drowned in the Tilak tank, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona, and the parents of the boy have sought communication with his spirit through this Society. I am informed the boy-spirit has spoken to them. In his book *Subhadra* or *Life after Death* Mr. V. D. Rishi, the organizer of the I. S. Society, writes that during his experiences at the seance the spirit of his wife as also other spirits have communicated to him that they take much pleasure and feel a sort of relief to talk to their relatives and friends on this earth. They have thanked him often and often for the good he has done to them by the spread of the science of spirit communication. Mr. Rishi believes that scientists have not done proper justice to this branch of science. . . . to know exactly what is life after death.
>
> . . . Could you not—for the benefit of so many who are seeking and those who might yet seek intercourse with the spirits as also for my own benefit—very kindly express your views (publicly if you so please) on this matter, advancing some convincing arguments against what has been mentioned above. . . .

My answers must be categorical. I never receive communications from the spirits of the dead. I have no evidence warranting a disbelief in the possibility of such communications. But I do strongly disapprove of the practice of holding or attempting to hold such communications. They are often deceptive and are products of imagination. The practice is harmful both to the medium and the spirits, assuming the possibility of such communications. It attracts and ties to the earth the spirit so invoked, whereas its effort should be to detach itself from the earth and rise higher. A spirit is not necessarily purer because it is disembodied. It takes with it most of the frailties to which it was liable when on earth. Information or advice therefore given by it need not be true or sound. That the spirit likes communications with those on earth is no matter for pleasure. On the contrary it should be

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

weaned from such unlawful attachment. So much for the harm done to the spirits.

As for the medium, it is a matter of positive knowledge with me that all those within my experience have been deranged or weak-brained and disabled for practical work whilst they were holding or thought they were holding such communications. I can recall no friend of mine who having held such communication had benefited in any way.

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329. DISTRESS IN SIND — AN APPEAL[1]

This is a calamitous year for Sind. . . . Sind is a dry tract and the average annual rainfall is hardly 5″. But the total rainfall this year varies between 25″ and 50″. All this has fallen within a period of less than 3 weeks. . . . Not one district has escaped the disaster. . . . The central parts of Sind have suffered most.

. . . A few days back it rose to 73″. . . . The Punjab rivers are in full flood. . . . This tremendous volume of water is expected to reach Sind within 24 hours. . . . Government has . . . kept special trains ready for an emergency. . . .

The People's Flood Relief Committee, which did some useful work during the floods of 1927, has been revived. It started with a generous donation of Rs. 10,000 from the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee and has since collected a sum of about Rs. 15,000 in Sind. But misfortunes never come single, and rains, pests and pestilence have disorganized the trade of Karachi and Hyderabad. The zamindars are unable to pay because of the losses of crops, and the merchants are hard hit by cholera in Upper Sind and floods in the Punjab. We are therefore obliged to appeal for funds outside our province. There was a noble response from Bombay during the floods of 1927, when the People's Flood Relief Committee received nearly 2 lakhs of rupees from the Bombay Central Relief Fund. The distress is much more acute now, and my Committee is confident that its appeal for funds will not be made in vain.

3-9-1929 N. R. MALKANI

HYDERABAD SECRETARY

This was received early last week, and was written, as the reader will notice, on 3rd instant. At the time of its publication in *Young India* therefore the final fate will have been decided.

[1] Only excerpts are reproduced here.

Whatever the fate may be, the distress depicted in the appeal cannot be lessened. If God so wills it, the further calamity feared might have been avoided. In every case the appeal ought to find a generous response.

Young India, 12-9-1929

330. *SELF-INTEREST* v. *SUPREME GOOD*

Shri Mahavir Prasad Poddar writes:[1]

I have no doubt at all that if the profit motive is introduced into the sale of khadi, it can never become popular. It has been the policy of the Charkha Sangha that the administrative expenses on the production and sale of khadi should not be more than 6¼ per cent of the actual cost. If the expenses are more, they should not be recovered from the buyers, rather we should beg for donations to make them up. The proposal is that if possible the expenses should be less than 6¼ per cent. The ideal thing would be for us not to charge more than what is spent on production up to weaving, etc. If it is found necessary a little profit can be charged on the sales. When khadi becomes as popular as ghee it will begin to sell among the millions and then the profit should not be more than 3 per cent. Secondly, we should also hope that the millions of peasants of our country following what has come to be called the self-reliance system in khadi will be able to spin for themselves and have enough khadi woven for their needs. If they can produce more khadi they will sell it themselves. Whether this golden time ever comes or not, the idea of making money by sale of khadi should be shunned. Khadi is certainly a powerful means of finding livelihood for the poor. But it cannot be a means of making money. Every industrious person has a right to a livelihood. But no one has a right to amass wealth. To be sure, amassing wealth is theft. He who takes more money than he needs for his living whether knowingly or unknowingly deprives others of their living. *Artha*, i.e., good, is of two kinds—*swartha* or individual good and *paramartha*[2] or the higher good. The latter is what one should seek; it is not opposed to dharma. Individual good which is opposed to dharma should be shunned.

[1] The letter is not translated here. It dealt with the question of profits in khadi.

[2] Literally, supreme good; here it means higher good or altruism as a means to the supreme good.

Khadi shastra is the shastra of *paramartha* and therefore it is true economics. No one should therefore charge excessive price for khadi.

Those who burden khadi with the cost of other activities do an injustice to khadi. Khadi today is in need of help from other constructive activities. To burden khadi with the cost of other activities is like killing a buffalo for shoes.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 12-9-1929

331. EVIL CUSTOMS IN U.P.

September 12, 1929

Seeing that my tour of the United Provinces is about to start an experienced and well-educated friend writes:[1]

If I get the chance I shall certainly study these questions and write about them. It is indeed a pity if, as the correspondent states, the students in U.P. are more keen on marriage than the students elsewhere and a lot of money is wasted on the marriage ceremonies.

But there is no need in this matter to compare U.P. with any other provinces. What does it matter if such evil customs are more or less in U.P. than in other provinces? It is the duty of every sensible man to try and do away with evil customs as such. It is improper and against religion to entangle students in the web of marriage. Our religion teaches us that one who does not observe *brahmacharya* as a student, does not have the right to enter life as a householder. Likewise one who cannot run a household should not enter into matrimony. The *grihasthashram* is not meant for indulgence and the gratification of the senses. A householder can have intercourse with his own wife with proper restraints if he desires an issue. Intercourse for its own sake has been condemned not only in Hinduism but in all religions.

If it is true that a great number of students in U.P. are married, then I have discovered the cause of an unhappy experience of mine. Propagation of Hindi throughout India is a special duty of U.P. When I mentioned teaching Hindi in the South I had hoped that many unmarried young men of good character, capable of sacrifice and well versed in the national language would

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to early marriages, the extravagant ceremonies and the custom of *purdah*.

be coming forward for this work. But readers will be sorry to know that U.P. was not much of a help in this work. Due to the scarcity of workers, the work of teaching the national language in other provinces, such as Bengal, Sind, Utkal, etc., had not progressed much. The reason for this is not lack of funds but lack of good workers.

The extravagant expenditure incurred during marriage is also a matter of regret. Everywhere those who have money spend lavishly, in an attempt to make a show of their wealth, and mislead the poor. In this matter also the students should pledge themselves not to let their parents spend too much money on weddings. I have met the friend who has written the letter. He reminds me of Jamnalalji's example and asks me to put the same before the students and their parents. On the occasion of his daughter Kamala's wedding Jamnalalji spent hardly Rs. 500. He gave no community dinner. He just invited a few friends to bless the couple. The ceremony was limited to the performance of the religious rites. There was absolutely no ostentation. Both the bride and bridegroom wore simple khadi dresses. It is the duty of every rich man to curb his vanity on such occasions and save the society from harm.

The third question is about the *purdah*. I have already written a lot about this evil custom. It causes harm in every way. It has been proved by experience that instead of protecting the women, the *purdah* causes them great mental and physical harm.

What can I write about the landlords? I do not think anyone of that class reads *Hindi Navajivan*. But since I believe that our human nature impels us towards nobility I hope the landlords will follow the example of the *samurai* of Japan and living a life of simplicity and dedication, work for public welfare. But this is a mere hope. It cannot be realized by my simply mentioning it in *Hindi Navajivan*.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 12-9-1929

332. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

AGRA,
September 12, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your letter of the 9th I got today, the 12th. Counting the days, I think I should have got it yesterday. The fact that I got it on the 12th means that what generally happens with the letters written to people in Kathiawar is happening also with letters written to me in Agra, that is, that letters are not carried to Ahmedabad on the day on which they are posted. Send someone to the Post Office and inquire about this. For the delay in the arrival of the letters means that, though we post them in time, they remain unattended to for twenty-four hours or are held up somewhere between Sabarmati and Ahmedabad.

Surajbehn's case is somewhat difficult. You must of course have sent for the doctor. If she wishes to leave, let her. I am writing a letter to her. Please hand it over to her.

As the work becomes more systematic, the burden will become lighter. My experience is that one feels the burden not of work but of worry. A person with a well-ordered mind knows easily how much he can carry and takes up a task within the limits of his capacity, but in the eyes of others it seems much heavier than it is.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4533; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 126-7

333. DISCUSSION WITH WORKERS, AGRA[1]

September 13, 1929

Workers from Agra and the districts who were over 31 in number, met Gandhiji at his residence in an informal gathering. . . . "It is so late in the day and we have so few trained workers for khadi work; what can we do?" they bitterly complained to Gandhiji. Gandhiji as he proceeded to lay bare his grief to them sharply retorted:

Whose fault? By the sheer strength of its size and numbers the U.P can dictate terms to the whole of India. What is then the meaning of this helplessness which I see before me? A Kripalani from Sind can today come and create in your midst a splendid field for khadi work. Round about you is the spectre of starvation and want. Look how people are dying on all sides without anyone to give them even a decent cremation. You have an unlimited opportunity for khadi work before you, if only you knew how to use it. If you believe that the cure for starvation lies in khadi, you will not mind whether you are many or whether you are few. You will forge ahead with your work in the fulness of faith without flagging or looking back. In things like this it is the quality of work that tells in the long run.

After reciting his South African experiences he proceeded:

You say you have the workers, but I make you a sporting offer. I am prepared to place all my present companions at your disposal. They know carding and spinning. I shall shift for myself without their services, if you think that you need them for teaching you spinning and carding. . . .

"If we send all our best workers into khadi work," they objected, "it would either mean a complete paralysis of our political activity, or if with the khadi work they carry on their political activity, the latter will jeopardize the former, as in the event of their arrest their khadi work would come to a standstill and the public would lose confidence in the movement."

That shows that you have not yet learnt the A.B.C. of the soldier's art. A soldier never worries as to what shall happen to his work after him, but thinks only of the immediate duty in front of him. Garibaldi never thought about his crops, when he left his farm and his plough in response to the call of duty. General

[1] This appeared under the title "The U. P. Tour II".

Smuts never paused to think of his splendid practice at the bar or of his still more precious farm when he joined the fight. Botha had a flock of 40 thousand sheep. They did not worry him when he plunged into the life-and-death struggle. Neither of these great generals doubted that if their property was seized by the enemy, as in fact it was, it would only be for the time being, and was bound to be ultimately restored to them or their descendants when the fighting was over. Even so ought to be the case with khadi workers. As for the public viewing with distrust an enterprise whose conductors were liable to be marched off to jail for its cause, what is likely to happen is just the reverse. When public opinion is sufficiently roused, far from condemning the jail-going worker, it would be the shirker who would find it morally impossible to stay outside the jail.

The last question asked by the workers was as to how they could utilize the services of their womenfolk for the movement. "By freeing them from the incubus of *purdah*," replied Gandhiji and proceeded to describe vividly how the backward condition of the woman in the U.P. was due to her subjection by man and how she would respond the moment her disabilities in this respect were removed.

Young India, 26-9-1929

334. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

AGRA,
September 13, 1929

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

How is it that there has been no letter from you so far? How are you keeping? Who are the persons staying at Vijapur these days? Do write to me about everything. Since the above was written I have your letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2364

335. SPEECH TO STUDENTS, AGRA[1]

[*September 13, 1929*][2]

Before beginning his address Gandhiji asked such students as were already married to raise their hands. . . . A similar query about the number of khadi-wearers elicited the fact that hardly a dozen from that vast audience wore khadi. . . .

I am not prepared to hear this confession of incapacity from students.[3] All your scholarship, all your study of Shakespeare and Wordsworth would be vain if at the same time you do not build your character, and attain mastery over your thoughts and actions. When you have attained self-mastery and learnt to control your passions you will not utter notes of despair. You cannot give your hearts and profess poverty of action. To give one's heart is to give all. You must, to start with, have hearts to give. And this you can do if you will cultivate them.

But what is it instead that we find today? The students in the U.P. today get married, not under compulsion from the parents, I am told, but out of their own insistent desire. During student days you are expected not to dissipate energy but to conserve it. I observe that over 50 per cent of you are married; if you will make the best of a bad job, you will in spite of your marriage put a severe restraint upon your passions and lead whilst you are prosecuting your studies a life of pure *brahmacharya*. And you will find that at the end of your studies you are all the better for that restraint, physically, mentally and spiritually. Do not by any means consider that I am presenting to you something that is utterly impossible of execution. The cult of those who, though they may be married, are exercising perfect self-restraint on themselves, is increasing with much profit to themselves and to the general benefit of mankind. To those who are unmarried I would appeal to resist temptation. After all we are a slave nation struggling to break asunder the fetters that keep us in that condition. Surely you at least should realize the sinfulness of bringing slave children into the world. Many young men from

[1] To students of Agra College and St. John's College at Neston Hall, Agra College. This appeared under the title "The U. P. Tour".

[2] From *The Leader*, 16-9-1929

[3] The students of one of the colleges had confessed, in their address, their inability to put into practice Gandhiji's ideals although they believed in them.

various colleges, not excluding your own, write to me pathetic letters asking me to tell them how they can get rid of their mental weakness. I have suggested to them the age-old prescription. They will no longer feel helpless if they will seek the help of God through all their weakness. The same friend that told me about the marriage evil also complained to me that students were guilty of involving their parents in extravagant expenditure on marriage ceremonies. Surely, marriage, you ought to know, is a sacrament and ought not to carry any expenditure with it. If those who have money will not curb the desire to spend it on feasting and revelry, the poor people will want to copy them and incur debts in so doing. You will, if you are brave, rise in revolt against any extravagant expenditure when you are ready to be married.

Coming to the subject of khadi Gandhiji said he was not ashamed to be called khadi-mad, and those who invited him to address them must be prepared to listen to his message of madness. As he was coming over he was shown from a distance the hostels which they were occupying. They looked like palaces to him. If the students were not selfish they would wish every son and daughter of India to live even as they were living. But they knew full well that such a thing was impossible of fulfilment for many a generation yet to come, in a country which was known to have at least ten crores of its population going without a full meal per day. If they believed in this statement which they could verify for themselves, if they explored the village conditions of India, they would one and all identify themselves somewhat with their starving countrymen by adopting khadi.

Young India, 19-9-1929

336. LETTER TO ALLEN MELTON[1]

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. My message to the Christians would be to cultivate humility instead of arrogating to themselves the exclusive possession of absolute truth.

[1] In reply to his letter dated July 30, 1928, asking for a "heart-felt message to the people who call themselves Christians", and to offer "suggestions to bring about a better understanding between people of foreign birth and those who are natives"

The only way I know of bringing about better understanding between different peoples is to treat all as of ourselves.

Yours sincerely,

ALLEN MELTON, ESQ.
PRESIDENT, WORLD FELLOWSHIP COUNCIL, DALLAS, TEXAS

From a photostat: S.N. 15239

337. LETTER TO A. K. BHAGWAT

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your full letter. If unfired food requires the extraordinary precautions that you suggest it is surely worse than cooked food for in practice nobody can guarantee absolute prevention of contamination. What I have hitherto understood was that uncooked food did not become contaminated so rapidly as cooked food. However I value the hints that you have given me. They would be serviceable in future experiments I may make.

Yours sincerely,

DR. A. K. BHAGWAT
C/o SHRIMATI PANT PRATINIDHI, OUNDH STATE, DT. SATARA

From a photostat: S.N. 15522

338. LETTER TO BALKRISHNA SHUKLA

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I have no notion of the date of my arrival in Unao nor do I know that Unao is included in the programme. Will you please correspond with the Secretary of the Reception Committee?

Yours sincerely,

SHRI BALKRISHNA SHUKLA
CHAIRMAN, DISTRICT BOARD, UNAO

From a microfilm: S.N. 15525

339. LETTER TO A. A. PAUL

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

MY DEAR RAJAN,

I was glad to hear from you after such a long time. I see you are making steady progress. I am afraid that I have not been able to give you the thing I thought I might be able to give you.

Yours sincerely,

A. A. PAUL, ESQ.
FEDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIPS
"MAITRI", KILPAUK
MADRAS

From a photostat: S.N. 15526

340. LETTER TO KEDAR

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You were certainly right in bringing Prof. Higginbottom's statement to my notice. Nothing now remains to be done.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI KEDAR
AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE
ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 15533

341. LETTER TO T. R. SANJIVI

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter of the 7th instant. Also a copy of the *Kalpaka*[1]. As you know I rarely mention any books in the columns of *Young India* except those dealing with the things I am working for.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI T. R. SANJIVI
PRESIDENT, THE LATENT LIGHT CULTURE
TINNEVELLY (S. INDIA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15535

342. LETTER TO JAGANNATH AGGARWAL

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

You can see me on Thursday next at 3 p.m.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI JAGANNATH AGGARWAL
HEAD MASTER, R. K. HIGH SCHOOL
JAGRAON

From a microfilm: S.N. 15539

[1] An English monthly published by the addressee

343. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, G.I.P. RAILWAY UNION*

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

THE SECRETARY
G.I.P. RLY. UNION, BHOPAL

DEAR FRIEND,

I have read your address. It was impossible for me to do anything during my brief sojourn at Bhopal. I suggest your adopting the usual method of writing to the Central Union and asking its guidance.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15552

344. *LETTER TO NIRANJAN PATNAIK*

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

MY DEAR NIRANJAN BABU,

I have your letter. I cannot now recall the exact words I used. All I know is that I had nothing unflattering to say about Satis Babu that I could not mention to him. My advice for future guidance is never to repeat the words of another person without having them confirmed by him when those words are likely to be in the nature of an adverse criticism of any person who is not present at such conversation.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI NIRANJAN PATNAIK
BERHANPORE, B.N. RLY.
(DIST. GANJAM)

From a photostat: S.N. 15553

345. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

CAMP AGRA,
September 14, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I expected a letter from you after your telegram but I have nothing so far. But I have heard today from Rajendra Babu that Krishnadas has not received my letter which I wrote to him immediately on receipt of his. Fortunately Pyarelal kept a copy of that letter. I therefore send it to you as I have no other address before me for Krishnadas. Rajendra Babu also says that Ram Binod has not received my letter but I had a telegram from him yesterday saying that he had my letter. Your telegram I may mention was, owing to the stupid blunders at the receiving station, almost indecipherable but I could gather the meaning.

I hope you are keeping well. Jawaharlal has left for me shorthand assistance of which I am taking advantage and giving my hand and body a little more rest which I am supposed to be taking here in Agra for seven days before proceeding further. Not that there is now anything wrong with me except weakness.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI SATIS CHANDRA MUKHERJEE
C/o SHRI SATIS CHANDRA GUHA
DARBHANGA

From a microfilm: S.N. 15554

346. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,
September 14, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I could not dictate a reply to your letter yesterday, for I had to leave at 3 o'clock to go to a village 25 miles away.

Disputes like the one over the exhibition will arise frequently. As you bear them in patience, you will become seasoned. Do not lose heart and, so long as you have not lost heart, do not give up the captainship. When you lose self-confidence, do not hesitate to give it up.

Always bear in mind the distinction between the mind's imperfection or unsteadiness and its impurity. Against the latter, you should even force yourself to employ non-co-operation; the former, however, will remain with us for ever. Even the greatest sages have not been able to overcome them; who are we, then? Bhai Madhavlal has written about this case. Since he has requested a personal reply, I have sealed the cover and enclosed it with this. But I hope that he will show the letter to all. Even if he does not, I have nothing to write to you about. You should go on working patiently as circumstances require. There is God above to protect us and to shape the result; why then should we worry?

I have written to Karsandas about Surajbehn. You should also write to me from time to time and convey to me the impression which you form. I have sent to him your earlier letter and also Gangabehn's. It is our duty as friends to inform Karsandas about the result of our test of Surajbehn.

Have you carried out the measures which I had suggested for cleaning up the goshala? Is there any change in the quality of the water after the cleaning of the well? Do they now make the bread of the right quality?

Krishnadas arrived yesterday. I have sent a wire today saying that Chhotelal should be sent here. When he arrives, I will send both to Almora. It seems advisable for the present to put both of them in Uttamchand's place. The difficulty from that side will then disappear. I do not see much change on Krishnadas's face, and he tells me that Chhotelal's health is not at all good.

Mahadevprasad had written some criticism about the goshala; it is with Surendra. We should think over it. Introduce immediately as many reforms as possible.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5434; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 127-8

347. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

AGRA,
September 14, 1929

CHI. NARANDAS,

May you prosper in the new year which you are entering. May your firmness of mind increase and your spirit of self-sacrifice become stronger.

If the women in the women's ward keep attending a day will also come when they will pay attention. We may try to impart to them the best we can and remain content with the effort.

I write to Bhansali from time to time, as you suggest. If you think it necessary for someone to go to Rajkot, do remember Santok's name.

Jamnadas seems to have neglected his eczema. It is the easiest thing to cure. That it has developed into a boil is a sign of utter carelessness.

What is Purushottam's weight these days? Has the tongue become clear? Has the constipation disappeared? What food does he eat?

Ba sends her blessings.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Pt. I, pp. 54-5

348. NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

A national school, judged from the point of view of size and influence, may be likened to a she-goat while the Government schools are like a lion. A lion is far far stronger than the goat; one lion may make short work of a multitude of goats. Is it not then rank folly to talk of national schools or to hope that they can withstand all competition and grow? Only those who are devoid of the capacity to think or can think only superficially will speak like that. But the lovers of national education should not, on that account, feel defeated or dismayed.

There can be no comparison between a national school and a Government school. There can be no proper appreciation of the

importance of a national school until the spirit of nationalism is fully developed—thus leading to an understanding of its merits. It is necessary to understand the distinctive characteristic of a national school. It is this: In the national school the first lesson is that of love and service of the motherland; of sacrificing oneself for the sake of the country. In the Government school love for the country is subordinate to loyalty to the foreign rule. Who does not know that when there is a conflict between the two, the Government school teaches its students to align themselves on the side of the protection of the foreign regime? Therefore, those who have in their heart the love of the country will prefer the cottage of the national school to the palace of the Government school. Is there a man who will give preference to the slavery of a prison-house even though it may provide all physical comforts and have the appearance of a big palace—over the freedom of his dilapidated cottage? Had we not forgotten this decisive difference between the two, blinded by our selfishness and attachment to false glitter, the national schools, far from suffering from want of an adequate number of students in them, would have been full, and the rich would have vied with one another in setting up good buildings for these institutions. Be that as it may, even though the national school has to meet underneath a tree, even though it has only a handful of boys, our teachers should never lose their faith.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 15-9-1929

349. THE BLIND IN INDIA

In Tardeo, Bombay, there is a home for the blind. Shri Hariprasad Chhatrapati is in charge of it and the osteopath Mr. Behramji Khambhatta and his wife take interest in it. We are all more or less familiar with three categories of blind persons. The first category suffer from the blindness of ignorance. No one has been able to ascertain their number. We may perhaps not be able to recognize this type of blindness; however, it is much worse than physical blindness. The second category of blind people are those who suffer from the pangs of hunger. Their number can be ascertained. It has been set down as not less than one hundred million. Although they can see, they are blind as their eyes have lost all lustre. Eyes set in a wax model can be mechanically operated, but they do not see. Similarly, although the pupils of the eyes of

these hundred million people do function, they have lost their vision. As I am all the time absorbed in serving these blind persons, I have been indifferent to those others who are physically blind.

Shri Khambhatta's love, however, dragged me to Bombay to serve for a short while this last category of persons in whatever small way I could. The third function that I had to attend on the 7th was to preside over a meeting held at the Vanita Vishram in aid of the above-mentioned Home.[1]

The sum and substance of the literature published by this institution and the speech delivered by Shri Chhatrapati is that there are 15,00,000 blind persons in India. Of course, about 70% would recover their sight if they received treatment in time. This is the figure for those who are blind in both eyes. The number of those who are blind of one eye amounts to 2½ times the above number. It appears that every blind person living in Bombay receives on an average Rs. 5 per day from kind-hearted but indiscreet people living in that city. However, the whole of this amount does not reach the blind persons. Their hired servants who guide them along take away the major share of it.

Those who run this institution are making an attempt to improve this unfortunate situation. There are blind people everywhere in the world. The benevolent people and researchers of the West have done much work in this matter. In the United States of America one finds the maximum propaganda of this sort of compassion. The recent attempts that are being made in India are a feeble imitation of this. In that country, there are many schools for the blind, trained teachers and a famous, well educated woman like Helen Keller has been able to come up whose books are read with affection by the people. That is to say, the blind there, instead of becoming a burden on others, ultimately get engaged in various kinds of trades and earn their living.

The blind people who had been trained at Tardeo were brought to the meeting. They sang songs. One of them played on the harmonium, another played on the drums, while yet another read out from a book written in Braille. Others demonstrated their ability to write. One person threaded a needle. The canework done by them was also exhibited.

The demands of this institution are as follows:

1. The rich should contribute funds for running it.
2. None should give alms to the blind; instead, if the money is

[1] *Vide* p. 380.

sent to the above institution, they will be looked after and treatment given to them, if possible, to restore their sight.

3. The whole or part of the amount thus saved by not giving alms should be paid by generous people to the above institution.
4. Those who have no money to spare but feel concern for such handicapped persons should reason patiently with them and send them to this institution where they will be examined.

If genuine sentiment for swaraj has been generated in us, even the blind would start deriving some solace from it. It is not necessary to wait for swaraj in order to remove their miseries. Even before the sun of swaraj has risen fully, its light and its comfort will surely spread all round. No time or energy is wasted in putting my suggestions into practice. .The sentiment for swaraj implies the same enthusiasm for the liberation of all the blind, crippled, dumb, half-starved persons, orphans and all those who are miserable in this country as one has for oneself. Anyone who has suffered such a change of heart will not miss a single opportunity of serving those who suffer.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 15-9-1929

350. MARRIAGE AND ITS RITES

I had carried on correspondence with a dear friend on this subject and of these letters, I had carefully set aside one. I present to the reader today its main part:[1]

This is not a letter, but an article worth reflecting upon. I agree with the larger portion of it. There may be a difference of opinion regarding two ideas. I use the words "may be" as very often when there is agreement, people appear to differ owing to a difference in the points of view.

I do not feel that the sentiment about bringing forth children should necessarily be there in marriage. I have today before

[1] This extract is not translated here. The correspondent had suggested that certain additions be made to the marriage vow of the Hindus as the Shastras had declared that if a man did not have a son he would not enter heaven. He also pleaded that the *saptapadi* should not be interpreted merely spiritually. *Saptapadi* are the seven steps a Hindu bride and bridegroom walk together, making at the same time promises of mutual fidelity and devotion, after which the marriage becomes legally complete.

me instances in which a man and a woman have been united in wedlock despite the absence of any sexual desire or the desire to bring forth children. Olive Shreiner had such a relationship; there is a couple[1] in Austria whose relationship today is of such a kind and was also like that from the very outset. There is another couple which was not guided at all by this sentiment when it entered into this relationship, but later on, as a result of this relationship, they did have children. They did not regard this result as an auspicious one. They put this result to good use after it had already materialized. They took the warning and, insisting upon leading a life of self-control, restricted themselves to having only two children. I know of such Indian women who have got married merely in order to avoid being censured by the world or feeling helpless and seeking the protection offered by men. There are many widowers who look for a companion only in order to run their household and look after their children by the previous marriage. At present the course of the lives of those who practise self-control contradicts the belief that marriage and begetting of children are one and the same thing. There is no need to conclude hastily that begetting children is indeed there at the root of the union of the two sexes. Why cannot the purity of conjugal love imply the supreme striving towards the unity of all living beings? Cannot that which appears to be an impossibility today become possible tomorrow? Can there be any limits to self-control? Let us not set any restriction to higher states to which a human being can reach, by looking at the example of creatures other than human beings.

If it is desirable to put an end to the sexual relationship between man and woman after five years, will it not be desirable to eliminate this relationship from the very beginning? If thereby there will be fewer marriages, it does not matter; even if there will be fewer marriages of that type it does not matter either. To show the practicability of my idea even a single example of purity is sufficient. Although Jaya and Jayant may be living in the poet Nanalal's imagination today, why may they not become realities tomorrow?

However, the important thing that fills my mind right now relates to something else. The sentiment about begetting children should certainly not find a place in the vows of *saptapadi*. Why should there be a vow for something which is going to take place if no attempt is made against it? Although we may not regard

[1] Frederic and Francisca Standenath, *vide* Vol. XXXVII, p. 357.

the begetting of children as our duty, it is something that is bound to continue to happen. Hence if there is a vow relating to it, it should run somewhat as follows: 'Even if we enjoy sexual pleasures, they will not be an end in themselves, but only to beget children if we are fit to bring them up.' The reader will see that this vow and the one taken for the sake of begetting children are poles apart, as the north is from the south. Is there anyone who is ignorant of the harmful practices that are being daily carried on because of the desire for a son in Hindu society as a result of the vow concerning the begetting of children?

We can readily visualize an age when people will find it necessary to regard the begetting of children as the primary object of marriage. Such an age prevails in France today. There in order to gratify freely their sexual desire, the people have artificial methods of preventing conception. Hence the number of deaths now exceeds that of births. Therefore the dharma of begetting children is now being taught there! When in times of war, the men on both sides are slain, not only does the dharma of begetting children become essential, but it is also regarded as the dharma of each man to marry more than one wife. It is obvious that the roots of both these examples are corrupt. In the first case, there was an excess of indulgence in sexual pleasure, while in the second instance, human violence had reached its zenith. The result that followed from this was inevitable. Hence despite the fact that it was irreligious in that particular age, it came to be known as something religious. Dharma is and always was as follows: 'You shall now be destroyed as you have over-indulged yourselves in sexual pleasures; you have proved to be worse than beasts, you have slain one another, let those who survive be destroyed now.' The welfare of the world lies in the destruction of such peoples as it involves a direct reaping of the fruit of one's own actions. The *Bhagavad Gita* asserts the same thing. The author of the *Mahabharata* has also depicted the destruction of the handful of persons who survived at the end.

Now that we find that there are many good uses to which marriage can be put, let us accept them as our objectives and let the begetting of children depend upon our natural inclinations. This is what I find to be desirable and essential. What people should resolve on is service, it is only through helplessness that they should gratify their sexual desires.

Now to turn to the meaning of the ceremony. I have no hesitation in declaring that an interpretation which has been arrived at by doing violence to truth is to be wholly shunned.

However, in a case where after considering the context a new but desirable interpretation can be construed, it is right to do so. And it is our duty to do so. People will continue to put right or wrong interpretations in cases where the meaning has not been previously determined. Together with the moral elevation of the people, there is bound to be an improvement of their means of communication. As language is the most important vehicle of their mutual relationship, it will continue to develop. And this will take place in two ways — by the formation of new words and new sentences and by giving new interpretations to them. It is a matter of discretion to decide what is proper at a particular time and under what circumstances it is possible to accept it. No principle is involved in this. Meanings that have been deduced with discrimination are bound to appear beautiful. There is only one stipulation; truth must not be sacrificed at any point.

I have not considered here where and what kind of changes should be instituted in the *mantras* of *saptapadi*. This is because it will be easy to take a decision regarding the ceremony once we clarify in our minds the two basic issues.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-9-1929

351. MY NOTES

Service to Women

Whenever I happen to go to Bombay, the men and women of Bombay refuse to leave me alone. A large gathering of men and women always assembles at Mani Bhuvan. However, on this occasion, on the 7th, when I passed through Bombay on my way to Bhopal, four functions were arranged. Two of these were held at Vile Parle and the other two in the heart of the city itself. The first of these was the laying of the foundation-stone of an Ashram for the benefit of women.

Shri Karsandas Chitalia has been the guiding spirit behind this. He had been dreaming of such an Ashram every day. He has always had his eyes fixed on Surajbehn and other women. Unfortunately, the former has become a widow. One way to make her forget her widowhood was to get her fully occupied in the task of serving women and make her forget her own sorrow. Shrimati Ramabai Ranade and such other distinguished women have kept this ideal alive. Shri Karsandas has a unique faith in Surajbehn. Although she has had no education, she has a very

soft heart and has always been enthusiastic about serving women. However, I believe that she has yet to train herself. Shri Karsandas is of opinion that regardless of whether she has received any training or not, if once a small building is built for her, she will train herself as she is kind-hearted and will be at peace with herself if she throws herself whole-heartedly into the work. Other women too will do likewise. I see haste and impatience in this. I feel that as soon as women become ready, a building will surely be ready for them. It is necessary to prepare the temple of one's heart before preparing a structure of brick and mortar. Once the former is achieved, the rest will certainly follow. If this is not done, other things even if present, are useless, and very often difficulties crop up in the way of getting them or fraudulent practices have to be resorted to for that purpose. Today there are buildings in which only crows live. There are others which put the name 'Ashram' to shame, where self-interest rather than the ideal of welfare, immorality rather than morality reigns.

However, I am a humble creature who is a slave of love. I am bewitched by Shri Karsandas's simple-minded devotion. Ten years ago, due to his and Shrimati Jaiji Petit's efforts I had received a purse of Rs. 25,000 on behalf of the Bhagini Samaj. Ever since then I was determined to make use of that amount for the service of women alone and in using it to seek the advice of this lady and this gentleman. Shri Karsandas had collected some funds for this Ashram, while a portion of the amount was donated by Surajbehn. That was not sufficient to start an Ashram. Hence, at the suggestion of Shri Karsandas, I decided to make use of that sum in order to make up the needed amount. Not resting satisfied with this, Shri Karsandas insisted upon my laying the foundation-stone of the building. Hence yielding to his insistence, I have performed this ceremony. Now I hope and pray that those women on whom Shri Karsandas is relying will justify his faith in them. A trust is being formed and a constitution is being drafted for the Ashram. Hence all precautions dictated by practical common sense are being and will be taken in order to safeguard its objectives.

As a matter of fact, service to women can be rendered only by other women coming forward to serve. Women ought to learn to live together, to work together, to tolerate one another's temperamental differences, to think independently and to put these thoughts into action with courage and determination and to put up with hardships. Women have a far greater capacity for renunciation than men. However, the women of India have not

developed a viewpoint that enables them to look beyond the narrow limits of the family. One of the aims of this Ashram is certainly to remedy this drawback.

National Schools

After having performed the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Stri-Seva Ashram, I had to perform the inauguration ceremony of the Udyoga Mandir and the khadi exhibition of the national school in Vile Parle which has been recognized by the Vidyapith. This school continues to survive amidst many adversities, because of the determination and steadfast devotion of Shri Gokulbhai and other workers. It has been brought over to Vile Parle in order to reduce expenses and at present Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala is the guiding spirit behind it. Attempts are being made in this school to give crafts a primary place in actual practice and the spinning-wheel and khadi have the place of prime importance among these crafts. It is in this connection that a hall was required. It is now ready and a small khadi exhibition has been arranged in it.

How can one compare this lamb to the tiger-like government schools? Considering the law in accordance with which a single tiger devours several lambs, large as well small, is there no limit to the stupidity of those who are fascinated by the idea of running national schools? Perhaps a person who lacks discretion and thinks superficially may say so. There is no reason for the protagonists of national education to feel defeated or scared because of this.

There can be no comparison at all between national schools and government schools. There cannot be full appreciation of the former so long as the spirit of nationalism is not fully felt and so long as its merits are not fully understood. But why should, for that reason, those who understand nationalism doubt their own conviction? It is necessary to understand the distinctive feature of a national school. It is this: the first and last lesson in it is one of patriotism, national service and sacrifice for the sake of the country. In a government school, patriotism comes after loyalty to foreign rule. Who does not know that when a conflict arises between the two, the lesson of loyalty to the foreign government is taught? Hence those who are devoted nationalists will prefer the hut of a national school to the palace of a government school. Who would prefer subservience in a gorgeous, comfortable prison to freedom in one's own leaking and dilapidated hut? If, as a result of our craze and our inherent selfishness, we had not wiped out this decisive distinction between government schools and

national schools today, the latter would have been overflowing with pupils instead of having a handful of them, and wealthy people would have been vying with one another to build beautiful buildings for these. However, although national schools may have to be run under the shade of a banyan tree, although only a handful of children may attend them, let nationalist teachers never lose their faith. I believe that the school in Vile Parle is of this type and hence I regarded myself as fortunate in having visited it.

New Building for Khadi Bhandar

The Khadi Bhandar of the All-India Spinners' Association in Bombay is a symbol of the progress of khadi and a measure of Shri Vithaldas Jerajani's love for it. From the standpoint of swaraj the progress made by this Bhandar may well appear to be very slight. However, viewing it as a store, its progress may be regarded as good. From a small building it moved to a somewhat large one and when even this was found to be inadequate, it has been shifted to a new and still larger building at No. 396 Kalbadevi. A visit to this new place was the fourth function on the 7th.[1] What a contrast between the coarse variety of khadi produced at its inception — to persons crazy about khadi like myself that would appear to be beautiful even today — and the 1660 varieties and textures being produced today! What a contrast between the swaraj flag made then and the woollen khadi flag made today with permanent dyes! But let me give below the account of this progress which was written down in a beautiful hand and read by Shri Jerajani:[2]

The original bhandar was opened in January 1920 in the Morarji Gokuldas Market. The sales during six months in that year amounted to Rs. 28,276. Last year, they amounted to Rs. 3,97,282. The total sales for seven years amount to Rs. 19,60,072. However, this is an insignificant figure considering the boycott, even the store at Kalbadevi is of no significance. This Bhandar should have its own building. If the idea of boycott really catches on, if the love of khadi runs in the blood of every Indian child, there will be a khadi bhandar in each locality in Bombay, not merely the one we have at present. The only way to generate such widespread love is for those who love khadi at the moment to continue to do so, to help this and such other bhandars, and

[1] *Vide* p. 381.

[2] This is not translated here. It stated that about 50 persons worked in the store. 18 sections were to be opened in order to provide facilities to buyers of khadi.

for workers not to let their faith diminish even in the least. This Bhandar will confirm the faith of those who have it and create faith in those who do not have it.

Beggars for Antyaja Service

The Kathiawar Antyaja Committee has sent Shri Ramji Jutha Hirani and Shri Ramnarayan Nagardas Pathak to East Africa and other places to collect funds for their work. Shri Ramji is a worker in Vartej Antyaja Ashram and Shri Ramnarayan, a worker in the Chhaya Antyaja Ashram. The ideal thing is that the burden of such expenditure in Kathiawar should be borne by the people living in Kathiawar itself. However, today we are facing tasks with regard to which public opinion has not been sufficiently educated. There are some who regard untouchability as their dharma. In these circumstances, people who love the *Antyajas* and would serve them should hold out their hands and beg for their sake. It is in keeping with this practice that these two workers have been sent to East Africa. I hope that the Indian residents of East Africa, and especially the Gujaratis, will give them as much as they consider proper and to the best of their capacity. At present the Antyaja Committee is running three ashrams and ten schools. Approximately, 800 boys and girls are taking advantage of these. Is there any compassionate person who will not help them? I had told these gentlemen that I would notice their begging mission in the issue of the very week when they would leave. However, owing to heavy pressure of work I could not keep my promise. Had Shri Mulchand Parekh, the Secretary of the Committee, not reminded me of it, I might still have forgotten about it. I have not written this in order to justify my error but in order to confess it. We should beware of making promises to anyone, but when we do, we should promptly carry them out. As I could not do so in this instance, I beg forgiveness of these two friends and of the Antyaja Committee.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-9-1929

352. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,
September 15, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Has anything been done about Kathor? Hasmukhrai should write to me and keep me informed about Bhansali. Has his weight increased? Can he walk now without help? What does he eat? I ought to know all this. How does Marathe keep? Nathji was to go there to meet him and plead with him. It was proposed to frame rules about personal cleanliness; have they been framed? Have the roads been named at last? If they have, I have not seen the list.

I wish to remind you of a suggestion which I had made some months ago. It was that we should get the Khadi Vidyalaya recognized by the Vidyapith and that those who pass its examination should be awarded degrees or diplomas by the latter. We have given no further thought to this matter. I think we should do so now. Discuss the matter with Shankerlal and Kaka and give effect to the suggestion. Perhaps you remember that I had gone to the extent of suggesting that even those who had passed the examination in previous years should, if they desired, be given certificates after going through a special procedure, and that the names of all such persons should be entered on our register and that of the Vidyapith. There are two or three similar matters which sometimes occur to me, but I do not recollect them at the moment.

Doctor Hariprasad must have now started the nursing class. Tell Shivabhai that in consultation with Jethalal and Appasaheb he should fully reconcile the discrepancies in the accounts to which they have drawn attention. I think that Narandas, too, does not accept Shivabhai's figures. Shivabhai should resolve the differences with all the three either through correspondence or by personal discussion. Mirabehn told me that a new method of estimating the quality of yarn had been recently introduced in the Ashram. If this is true, it should be explained both in *Navajivan* and *Young India*.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5435; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 128-9

353. LETTER TO BANARASIDAS CHATURVEDI

AGRA,
September 15, 1929

BHAISHRI BANARASIDAS,

I have received both your letters. I shall visit Dayalbagh[1]. At Firozabad I do hope to meet your father, your son and others. If Ramnarayan has already met me he did not introduce himself. I hope to meet Chiranjilal also. I trust that the loss in *Vishal Bharat*[2] will be made up soon enough. How is the Hindi-propagation work progressing in Bengal?

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2522

354. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

September 16, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN SENIOR,

I have your letter. Do not mind if you cannot help saying unpleasant things at the Managing Committee meetings; if you remain on it, you will get experience. One cannot learn to control anger and other weaknesses by keeping idle at home. One can do so only by trying while discharging the responsibilities one has undertaken. To run away from responsibility because one is apt to lose temper is a form of cowardice and, moreover, one will not then know whether one has learnt to control anger.

Write to me if Lakshmi has been giving trouble. I will then write to Dudabhai and he will take her away. I am happy to learn that the Dehra Dun girls have shown their merit. Surajbehn of course will take time to learn things.

Do not mind if you have started taking coffee again. You have tried your very best to give it up, but you have not succeeded. There is a limit beyond which one cannot fight against one's body.

1 An industrial colony established at Agra by a religious sect

2 A Hindi monthly edited by the addressee

Take care of your health. Have no hesitation at all in taking as much milk as you think necessary.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 26

355. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

Silence Day, September 16, 1929

SISTERS,

Do not expect long letters from me for the present. I get very little time on Monday, since I have to finish the work for both *Navajivans* on that day. I must wait and see what happens as the tour progresses. Though we are here only for a few days, Mirabehn has started a class for spinning and carding. Jamnabehn has brought from Bombay garments made by the women there and sells them. She is helped in this by Prabhavati. Kusum is always occupied in her work. I may be said to be in fairly good health, but I get very much annoyed if any person in our circle makes a mistake. From that I see that my body has still not become what I should like it to be. And the mind has not become so detached from the body that it can control the latter whatever its physical condition might be.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3701

356. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

September 16, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got today the mail sent by you, but I find in it no letter from you. You need not worry if occasionally you cannot write for want of time. I want you to recover your composure as early as possible. What way can I suggest to you for this? The truth is that composure is not acquired by following anyone's advice; it springs from within.

I myself am fighting with the demon of Anger these days. The moment anyone in our circle makes a mistake, this adversary

Anger rides on my back. This betokens weakness of both body and mind. If the mind has become completely indifferent, in what way can the body's weakness affect it? The reason knows this, but the heart has not felt this knowledge. One day, however, this anger is bound to leave me. My harshest attacks are on Pyarelal and Kusum. As I must win God's grace by my own effort, so also must you. Do not imagine that there is any difference between you and me—both of us have the same *atman*, and both of us have an element of the brute in us. The latter will disappear if the darkness of ignorance vanishes.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5436; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, p. 130

357. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Silence Day, September 16, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Narandas's letter and yours were caught between other letters and so I did not see them when replying to the other letters today.[1] After the mail had been dispatched, I started reading the letters which I had read incompletely and, as I removed the clip, I saw the two letters. I was glad. I wish that your reconciliation should endure. I shall certainly be happy if Narandas's suggestion can be carried out. It will certainly be convenient if the women's work centre can be located in the enclosed courtyard. Gangabehn ought to have obtained my permission for starting a fast. It does not matter if she is fasting only for a day or two. I propose to send a wire about this tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5437; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 130-1

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

358. *TELEGRAM TO UDYOGA MANDIR, SABARMATI*

September 17, 1929

WIRE RESULT GANGABEHN'S FAST HER HEALTH.

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 15822

359. *TELEGRAM TO KHADI SHOP, SRINAGAR*[1]

September 17, 1929

WIRE RECEIVED. KEEP CHHOTELAL FOR PRESENT. WHEN CAN YOU RELIEVE EARLIEST? DO YOU NOW RECEIVE LETTERS?

BAPU

From a microfilm: S.N. 15556

360. *MESSAGE TO BOMBAY CHILDREN*[2]

AGRA,
September 17, 1929

The children who live and study in Bombay ought to know that they are but a drop in the ocean of the crores of children in India. Also they must realize that a large number of these crores of Indian children are only living skeletons. If the Bombay children look upon them as their own brothers and sisters, what are they going to do for them?

With blessings of
BAPU

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-10-1929

[1] In reply to addressee's telegram dated September 16, which read: "Relieving Chhotelalji soon will disturb work considerably. Please wire" (S.N. 15555).

[2] Received preparatory to celebration of Gandhiji's birthday by them

361. LETTER TO CHAIRMAN, MUNICIPAL BOARD, LUCKNOW

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

THE CHAIRMAN
MUNICIPAL BOARD
LUCKNOW

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter. With reference to the hoisting ceremony of the national flag I take it that you have fixed the time in consultation with the Reception Committee for I am not my own master when I undertake these tours. The Reception Committees in each place regulate my movements.

Yours faithfully,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15560

362. LETTER TO SWAMI GOVINDANAND

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have just heard that you are conducting, in the name of the Congress, a khadi bhandar uncertified by the All-India Spinners' Association at which spurious khadi is sold. I have received also the specimen of a handkerchief which obviously contains mill yarn. I would like you to tell me how far there is truth in the statement brought to my notice.

Yours sincerely,

SWAMI GOVINDANAND
PRESIDENT, SIND P. C. C.
KESARI OFFICE, KARACHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15547-a

363. *LETTER TO SECRETARY, A.I.S.A., AHMEDABAD*

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

THE SECRETARY
ALL-INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION
MIRZAPUR, AHMEDABAD

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1] about the Khadi Bhandar run by Swami Govindanand. I have written[2] to him directly of which a copy is sent herewith.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosures:

From a microfilm: S.N. 15547

364. *LETTER TO ZIAUDDIN AHMAD*[3]

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I have received advice from Sabarmati that the book mentioned by you has been received there. I have a long tour in front of me and I am not likely to be at the Ashram for a long time to come. I am afraid therefore that I shall not be able to look at your book before next year.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15530

[1] This read: "Swami Govindanand's Bhandar is not one certified by the A.I.S.A. Still it is feared that as it is run by the President, Congress Committee, difficulties may arise . . ." (S.N. 15546).

[2] *Vide* the preceding item.

[3] In reply to his letter requesting Gandhiji to write a few words about his book, *Systems of Education* (S.N. 15529)

365. LETTER TO D. VENKATESWARLU

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. When you have finished your course if you are still intent on coming to the Ashram there would be no difficulty about your admission. But you will write again after next June if you are still so minded. I would, however, recommend your living the Ashram life where you are by way of preparation. And it would be advisable for you to come at first alone and after you are acclimatized and satisfied that you can lead the Ashram life, your wife can follow. I would also suggest your both learning Hindi. I presume you have a copy of the constitution of the Udyoga Mandir. If you have not you should send for one from Sabarmati.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. D. VENKATESWARLU
FINAL YEAR, GOVERNMENT TEXTILE INSTITUTE
WASHERMENPET, MADRAS

From a microfilm: S.N. 15537

366. LETTER TO K. GANESAN

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter and I have advice from Sabarmati that your mother's yarn[1] was safely received. Please thank her on my behalf for the value of it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. K. GANESAN
C/O SJT. K. KUPPUSWAMI IYER, B.A., B.L.
HIGH COURT VAKIL, DINDIGUL

From a microfilm: S.N. 15543

[1] Thirty thousand yards sent as gift on Gandhiji's birthday

367. LETTER TO M. S. ADHIKARI

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter[1]. I suggest your showing your scheme to someone better qualified to examine it and having more leisure for it.

Yours sincerely,

M. S. ADHIKARI
C/o MODERN HINDU HOTEL
FORT, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15545

368. LETTER TO KANNOOMAL

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I am sorry I could not see you when you called as I was just closing my eyes. I have now got your books for which I thank you. I do not find the price of the books of which you have sent me a list nor do I find it in the books themselves, for instance, *Sayings of Kabir* in Hindi which I have been just glancing through.

Yours sincerely,

LALA KANNOOMAL
DHOLPUR (RAJPUTANA)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15551

[1] Dated September 9, which read: "I have herewith enclosed a copy of the Rules and Regulations of a certain company in Bombay which professes to grant loans on co-operative basis at 1 per cent per annum. . . . If the scheme can alleviate and better the present economic condition of the country, I think it is worth the trial. . . ." (S.N. 15544).

369. LETTER TO V. V. DIKSHIT

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter enclosing Sjt. Seshagiri Rao's letter. I suggest by way of preliminary that his machine be shown to Sjt. Narayana Raju of Ellore who knows something of spinning-wheels. If he is absolutely sure of his invention he can send it to Sabarmati for examination. If the machine is at all promising every facility will be given to him to perfect his conception. He will have to bear the cost of sending the machine and of returning it if he wants its return in the event of its being found unsatisfactory. His board and lodging will be found for him by the Udyoga Mandir in the event of his coming to Sabarmati. I am not writing separately to Sjt. Rao. Let this serve as an acknowledgment of his letter also.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. V. V. DIKSHIT
ELLORE, WEST GODAVARI DISTRICT

From a microfilm: S.N. 1558

370. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I have your letter. I am sending today to Purushottamdas Tandon the covering letter. You will see in *Young India* the use I have made of some figures quoted by you in the Mysore Bulletin.[1] There should be more work along this line. The very figures you have given can be still further worked out and they will show startling results. For instance the average income of 1 anna 7 pies means that the income of 11 crores who have four months in the year at least lying absolutely idle on their hands is much less than 1 anna 7 pies because the average includes the incomes of

[1] *Vide* pp. 434-5.

big zamindars and the fat salaries of highly placed officials as also the equally fat fees of doctors and lawyers. It should not be difficult for someone to work out these figures and find the average income of the 11 crores. It must be nearer 1 pie than seven. Surely, 66 crores for foreign yarn and foreign piece-goods is a wrong figure for the imports from England alone of piece-goods excluding yarn amount to nearly 60 crores. If you add to this imports of yarn from England and imports of yarn and piece-goods from Japan and Italy they are likely to be 100 crores, but this requires checking. Who has prepared these figures? Here is a copy of my itinerary revised to date.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure 1

SJT. JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
SECRETARY, FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT COMMITTEE
CONGRESS HOUSE
414 GIRGAUM BACK ROAD, BOMBAY

From a photostat: S.N. 15559

371. LETTER TO DESH RAJ

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

MY DEAR DESH RAJ,

Though your report on Mr. Brayne's rural work is unconscionably late I welcome it as I have been anxiously waiting for it. I am now devouring it. May I make public use of it? If you can absolutely vouch for every statement made by you it is a valuable document. It would not do to have a single statement successfully contradicted. Attempts at contradiction probably there would be but you must have chapter and verse in support of what you have said. You realize that some of your statements are most damaging. If therefore you want to revise any portion you may do so. There are some obvious slips at page 6. You say "they have got an agricultural farm of about 40 yds". I suppose you mean acres. At page 14 you say "from the last year Government sanction an annual grant of Rs. 2,50,000 for the village guides". This seems to be surely an error but I cannot guess the correct figure unless it is Rs. 250 or Rs. 2,500. Please let me know the correct figure. But in view of these slips I would like you to

revise the report and make it absolutely accurate in connection with every single detail. And I need hardly ask you to be prompt in your reply. Please let me have your reply if possible at Lucknow where I expect to be from 27th to 30th.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15561

372. LETTER TO JAGANNATH

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

MY DEAR JAGANNATH,

Better late than never. I have been boiling with indignation against you for being so late with the report. After your last visit to the Ashram with Tandonji I thought that I would get the report at once but you know what time it took before you could send it to me. However there is some compensation in that the report is exhaustive. I am now studying it carefully. You will find my letter[1] herewith to Desh Raj. Please send it to him. I am keeping my health as well as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: Tour Programme[2]

SJT. JAGANNATH

From a microfilm: S.N. 15541

373. LETTER TO EVELYN GEDGE

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I am writing at once to Cornelius and I hope that the result of my correspondence will prove happy though his letter to Mr. Vergese fills me with doubt. During our conversation you wanted me not to mention your name but I think that it would be wrong not to mention your name. Cornelius ought to know the source of my information and it is better

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] Not available

not to leave him to guess it. I hope therefore I am right in using your name. I did not gather at our conversation that you intended absolute prohibition. I return the two letters sent by you.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosures: 2
MISS EVELYN GEDGE
UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT
VACCHANGANDHI ROAD
GAMDEVI, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15562

374. LETTER TO N. S. HARDIKAR[1]

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR DR. HARDIKAR,

I have your letter about the flag. I am already attending to it. Your suggestion is quite good and workable. It may take a little time before the thing is in working order. I note what you say about the size. I had similar complaints from one or two other workers. I note also what you say about the fastness of colours.

Yours sincerely,

DR. N. S. HARDIKAR
HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL, HUBLI

From a photostat: S.N. 15528

[1] In reply to his letter dated September 6, which read: ". . . as per resolution of the Calcutta Conference of the Dal in December 1928, a good number of places have been observing the monthly flag salutation function regularly at 8 a.m. on the last Sunday of every month. . . . We have been getting orders for national flags from distant places both in India and outside. . . . I shall feel highly obliged if the A.I.S.A. arranges that its provincial branches at least keep national flags of different sizes ready for sale (with the charkha on them) . . ." (S.N. 15527).

375. *LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA*

CAMP AGRA,
September 17, 1929

DEAR SATIS BABU,

I have your letter about the doings of Congressmen there. What you say is too true. I am simply sitting still. I enclose Dr. Hardikar's letter. What he says about the size of the flag is, I think, quite true. Can you prepare these flags to the standard size required by Dr. Hardikar and supply all the stores? I would like you to consult Jerajani in this matter. He has also been making experiments in flag making. He has been fairly successful. The colours must undoubtedly be fast. Jerajani has used hand-spun woollen stuff for making good flags. We might have both woollen and cotton varieties but you know best.

Herewith is Niranjan Babu's letter. In so far as his narrative means the slightest reflection upon you it is a bad narrative. There is nothing wilful in it but it shows how cautious a man has to be especially in talking to one who is nervous under a shock delivered to him. I have sent Niranjan Babu a prescription[1] for future use which you will see from the copy of the letter herewith enclosed. I have had nothing yet from Krishnadas nor from his Guruji to whom I had to write about the incident owing to a letter received from him. He sent me a long telegram apologizing for Krishnadas but of course it is not the apology I need. I want an absolute clearance. Hemprabhadevi is absolutely silent nowadays. I wonder if her silence is also due to the recent disturbances. Have you regained your weight and are you quite well now? One thing seems to me to be clear from the dietetic literature that has come under my notice, namely, that polished rice is unfit for consumption and a grain which requires so much delicate handling as rice need hardly be taken when other cereals are at hand. Wheat, milk or curds, uncooked green vegetables and fruits seem to be just now a workable proposition. That the plant world does hold an absolute substitute for milk I have no doubt but the secret is still to be found. American friends as also

[1] *Vide* p. 396.

English friends have suggested the Soya Bean milk. I am trying to secure the Soya Bean.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

Encls. Letter of Sjt. Niranjan Patnaik and reply

SJT. SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA
KHADI PRATISHTHAN, SODEPUR
NEAR CALCUTTA

From a photostat: G.N. 1609

376. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

AGRA,
September 17, 1929

CHI. VASUMATI,

Once again I have had no letter from you for some time. I must get one regularly. I have sent to Chhaganlal the programme of my tour. Read that letter. I keep good health. I have not yet started eating bread, nor do I feel the need for it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9266

377. LETTER TO G. V. MAVLANKAR

September 17, 1929

BHAISHRI MAVALANKAR,

I got your letter.

I am writing this reply in great haste. I am under the impression that the printing press valued at Rs. 20,000 was also donated. Bhai Shankerlal knows the true position. Please show the Deed to him.

Swami's name will continue. Isn't our position merely that of the parties making the Trust?

I think it necessary to continue all the new Trustees. There is of course a reason for keeping each name. I can explain it when we

meet or in a letter when I get sufficient time for that.

I think I have omitted no point in this reply.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1225

378. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,
September 17, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

If you get some time from your miscellaneous administrative work, you or Panditji or Narandas should go to Gangabehn's help. Without someone to help her, she cannot manage the women who are misbehaving. It has been proved that . . . behn[1] steals. I have always felt that . . .[2] had this defect. Everyone knows what trouble . . .[3] gives. . . .[4] is a careless, thoughtless and bad-mannered girl.

I think one of you should take [A][5] into confidence and tell him about [B][6]. If her bad nature cannot be reformed, [A] should take her out of the Udyoga Mandir and reform her with love. He ought not to be angry with her and abandon her. In the Udyoga Mandir, however, she will not improve. Those who live in the Mandir ought to have certain virtues. If they lack them, they are likely to grow worse instead of improving there, for they will abuse the freedom which prevails in the Udyoga Mandir and, in the absence of the restrictions which exist in the outside world, they would slacken even those restraints which they used to exercise before joining the Mandir. It is also likely that [A] does not see the defects of [B] which we see. I have known few husbands who can see the shortcomings of their wives. If every husband can do this, conjugal life would probably be impossible. I would not, therefore, blame [A] if he cannot see [B's] defects. But it is clear to me as daylight that, if that is so, both of them should leave the Udyoga Mandir, for so long as he does not see her defects she will have a powerful shield in him. It is but natural that he should be partial to her so long as he does not see her defects. And so long as this goes on, [B's] interests will suffer.

In admitting married women, we do assume that we shall get the fullest co-operation from the husband and that, when

1, 2, 3, 4, 5 & 6 The names are omitted in the source.

we confess our helplessness in regard to the wife, both will leave the Mandir. What applies to [B] and [A] also applies to [C][1] and [D][2].

If Lakshmi does not behave properly, Dudabhai should again take her away. This should be done every time it is necessary; in course of time, then, if it is our and her good fortune, she will learn to behave better.

I have written all this for consideration by you. Carry out as much from it as is practicable.

How is Krishnamaiyadevi behaving?

It was a narrow escape for Fulchand. But we should not always trust to similar good fortune. It is desirable to keep ready facilities of ropes, etc., near the place where children go for swimming. In any case, we should caution them from time to time.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5438; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 130-2

379. LETTER TO N. R. MALKANI

CAMP AGRA,
September 18, 1929

MY DEAR MALKANI,

I have your letter. The news you give me has deeply grieved me. Swami Govindanand wrote to me asking me to bless some Congress Relief Committee he had formed. I told him I could not do so as all the moneys I could collect were to be distributed through you and you only. I see now what a fix you have found yourself in. You must now keep intact the balance of the moneys sent to you from Gujarat. If you are again free to work out relief measures independently of official interference or control, the Gujarat money will be set free. Otherwise you will return it to me. When you find that you are being exploited instead of being able to serve the people, you will wash your hands clean of the present Committee and if you cannot do relief work

[1] & [2] The names are omitted in the source.

quietly and without stirring up dirt you will realize that the fates are against you and that they do not require your services. We hold ourselves ready to serve where our service is needed. We do not need to thrust ourselves anywhere. It is enough that we are willing. Have I made myself quite plain and understandable?

Now for Choithram[1]. Jairamdas and I had a long talk about him. He is sinfully wasting his body. Why can he not, whilst there is time, give himself one whole month's rest or more if necessary and recuperate himself, and become thereby a fitter instrument for service? I think you who surround him should declare a strike and satyagraha against him and compel him to take rest. Please show this letter to him and tell me how far you have succeeded.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

PROF. NARAINDAS MALKANI
DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE OFFICE
HYDERABAD (SIND)

From a photostat: G.N. 895

380. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,
September 18, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. Raojibhai's fever seems to have continued for quite a long time, but it must have gone now. I wrote to you about Narandas the day before yesterday.

Today all of us went and paid a visit to the institutions run in Dayalbagh.[2] We met their head, Sahebji Maharaj. No work on raw hides is done in these institutions. They make footwear, buying leather from elsewhere. I saw nothing in the goshala from which we could learn. The expenditure on it is very high. The institution maintains connection with the Government. It runs a college, etc., and accepts grants from the Government for the purpose. There is great cleanliness in the place. The buildings are palatial, and the roads metalled. The institution has its own

[1] Dr. Choithram Gidwani

[2] A description of this appeared in *Young India*, 26-9-1929, under the title, "U. P. Tour".

guards. It employs water-pumps and has electric lights. I would not regard this as an institution of the poor and for the poor. It is certainly one which would do and bring credit to the rich. It is extremely well managed. The residents have great love for the Saheb Maharaj. Women enjoy freedom. Not only are there no caste restrictions, but their observance is actually prohibited. Marriages are deliberately arranged outside caste circles. The marriage ceremony is absolutely simple. Women are always clad in white. Except bangles and a small necklace, all other ornaments are banned. Even those which they wear are made in Dayalbagh, and it is a rule that they must be made in Dayalbagh. The women's dress imitates the Parsi dress. They even tie a white kerchief round the head. Attendance at morning and evening prayers is compulsory, and the prayer lasts one hour in the morning and two in the evening. Sahebji Maharaj is full of enthusiasm and takes interest in all activities. Everything is done under his supervision. His aim in life is self-realization. The *satsangis* are forbidden to take part in politics. I send with this a copy of the pamphlet giving a description of the institution. More about this when we meet.

There is a gentleman here named Pratapnarayan Vatal. He has had experience in the tannery of the Rewa State. He has promised to help us through correspondence in running our tannery. If he immediately initiates correspondence and writes to you, explain the position to Surendra and ask him to keep up the correspondence. I was told that he has had twenty years' experience.

If I meet Premraj's guru in Farrukhabad I will try to get acquainted with him.

Gopalrao's wound seems to have taken a rather long time to heal. But he must have returned now.

You need not do anything now about [the delay in] the post. I think the time it takes to arrive here is correct. I see that I made a mistake in counting the number of days. For a letter posted on the 13th can leave Ahmedabad earliest on the 14th. It will reach Agra on the evening of the 15th and will be delivered on the 16th. I got your letter of the 15th on the right day according to their reckoning.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] *Vide* p. 388.

[PS.]

Chaman Kavi writes to me and tells me that you promised to write to him daily about me but did not write and did not even reply to his letter.

Narandas had merely asked my permission in his letter. Harjivan will not let Chhotelal go away just now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5439; also *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 132-3

381. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

AGRA,
September 18, 1929

I have your letter. It is a good thing that Yashoda[1] is now in Ahmedabad. Her illness causes anxiety, but it is possible that she will recover with careful nursing.

If Father has arrived, tell him I expect to meet him in Lucknow on the 27th.

I know about [the death of] Bhai Indulal's wife. For her this is a release from pain. I am a little surprised about . . .[2] bhai. But where is the need for surprise when such things are in the air?

I enjoy good health, and live at present on milk, curds and fruit.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 68

382. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

AGRA,
September 18, 1929

BHAI GHANSHYAMDASJI,

I got your letter of September 2. My impression is that I wrote to you during the Andhra tour to arrange for the auditing of the Bengal Congress Committee accounts.[3] I was hoping your

[1] Wife of the addressee's brother
[2] The name is omitted in the source.
[3] *Vide* also p. 327.

auditors would agree to do the job free of charge. You may write to the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. I shall write to him today.[1]

I have had enough rest in Agra. My health is better. I am only taking goat's milk, curds and fruits. I could eat *roti* but I have not tried it. If we get some opportunity to sit down together at leisure as we had in Wardha, I would like to know your views regarding food. Because of weakness or inability, one may not be able to adopt an ideal diet and yet one may have well-considered views about it.

The sages had arrived at fairly well-founded views regarding this matter of an ideal diet but my mind does not accept that they had reached a solution which must hold good for all time to come. But as I have been unsuccessful for the time being in my experiment this subject is no longer of immediate interest.

I trust you are keeping good health. Mahadevlalji had written to me in July a letter which contained some charges against you. I drew his attention to the impropriety of it and asked his permission to pass on the letter to you. The impropriety consisted in his not mentioning the matter to you first. In his reply he gave me permission to forward his letter to you. The letter, however, was not desptached perhaps because I was on tour or for some other reason. Meanwhile, Mahadevlal came to the Ashram. At present he is touring with Jamnalalji. He does not seem to have any selfish motive. I am sending his letter to you now. Read it at leisure and take your own time in sending the reply. And return his letter with your reply.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6177. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

383. JUDGE'S INDICTMENT

I condense the following from a newspaper report:

It is extremely common for advocates for the defence in criminal cases to argue that the prosecution story is an entire concoction by the police, and in the vast majority of cases no evidence whatever, whether elucidated in cross-examination or offered in examination-in-chief, is ever produced in support of this argument. Now either the contention is raised on direct

[1] The letter was, however, written on September 19; *vide* p. 437.

instructions of the client, or it is deliberately raised by counsel without any instructions from the client. In the former case the accused has aggravated the heinousness of the offence with which he is charged. In a clear case of this kind the tribunal trying the case should take this into account as a circumstance warranting an increase in the sentence. In the latter case where the legal practitioner has acted without reasonable cause he is guilty of the grossest professional misconduct. Cross-examination on these lines is often grossly abused, and it is the duty of the trying judge, if he has any suspicion when an advocate begins an attack upon the prosecutor or a witness, to demand from the advocate an assurance that he has good grounds for making the suggestion. If such is not forthcoming, cross-examination on these lines should be promptly stopped. If an assurance is given, but if it appears on the termination of the trial that no such grounds had existed, the tribunal should bring the conduct of the advocate to the notice of the High Court. I make these observations in order that a check may be placed on a growing and serious evil.

These are the remarks of the Chief Justice of the Patna High Court.

I have said enough in these columns to show that justice is practically unobtainable in the so-called courts of justice in India. But I was unprepared for a Chief Justice (assuming that he is correctly reported) becoming the framer of a gratuitous indictment against lawyers and their clients. These remarks of the Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, in my opinion, amount to a threat to the accused persons and their counsel.

If the fear of an increase in sentence or being disbarred hangs like Damocles' sword on the accused person or his counsel as the case may be, it would be impossible for either to impugn the conduct of the police. Whatever the learned Chief Justice's experience may be, the experience of the man in the street is, that in a vast number of cases the police story *is* manufactured, and the growing evil is *not* in the accused or his counsel, but it *is* in the police who therefore need to be checked in their excessive zeal to fasten a particular crime upon someone. The ordinary policeman is in mortal fear of degradation or dismissal, if he cannot secure convictions. It becomes therefore his interest to manufacture a case in the absence of reliable evidence. The judge therefore whose duty is to presume the innocence of every accused person coming before him would think twenty times before

he puts a single obstacle in his way. Where is the lawyer who has not often felt the truth of the statement which he makes but which he is unable to prove? And even a Charles Russel will be hard put to it to demonstrate the truth that he feels within himself if for fear of being disbarred in case he fails to prove his charge, he is hampered in the course of his cross-examination or examination-in-chief? The Piggot forgeries would never have been proved but for his fiery cross-examination. A lawyer who believes in the innocence of his client, whether he is prompted by him or no, is bound, in order to discover the truth, to impugn by way of cross-examination or otherwise the prosecution story. This however is common sense and common law, but both are at a discount in India's courts of justice. When it is a question of the prestige of the Government which in its turn depends upon the prestige of the police, the judges consider it their duty to protect that prestige by turning prosecutors themselves. It is sad, but it is true. The Chief Justice of the Patna High Court is to be congratulated upon his boldness in emphasizing the fact.

Young India, 19-9-1929

384. *NOTES*

Arbitration *v.* Brute Force

The Working Committee of the Congress being invited to express its opinion on the Golmuri Tinplate Workers' strike instructed the Secretary to correspond with the employers and put the correspondence before its next meeting so as to enable it to understand both sides of the question and to form an opinion. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru immediately entered into correspondence with the employers and has now prepared an elaborate note. I must not go into the merits of the strike. From the correspondence and the note I see that there are vital differences of opinion even on facts between the employers and those who represent the strikers. One thing however stands out prominently that this is a strike on the part of workers in a concern which is heavily protected at national expense. The Congress members supported the protective tariff in the full belief that the industry was a national industry, that the workers were well treated and that the industry deserved support on merits. The Congress therefore is bound to interest itself in the doings of a concern of this description. The main demands are:

1. that there should be an impartial committee of enquiry into all the grievances;

2. that there should be no victimization;

3. that the case pending in the courts against strikers for picketing, etc., be withdrawn.

Hitherto the employers appear to have ridden the high horse. They are represented by the powerful Burmah Oil Co. and Messrs Shaw Wallace and Co. They can afford to lose money to any extent. The correspondence before me shows that they are unwilling to go to arbitration, and they are relying upon the force which money and prestige can give them. The public need not worry over the intricacies of the case which is becoming complicated by the intervention of the Pathans and many other things that have happened in the course of this unusual strike. The employers seek to hide themselves behind the plea that the strike was premature. Surely at best it is but a technical defence. Public opinion therefore should concentrate upon the reasonable demands that the men have made. They do not say that their case should be accepted by the public as such, but they ask for the public opinion in favour of the appointment of an impartial committee of enquiry into their grievances with the usual conditions as to restoration of the pre-strike position. On this there can be no two opinions. The strongest combination of employers must accept the principle of arbitration if capital and labour are ever to live in peace.

WHAT IS UTOPIAN?

I have before me a report of the speech recently delivered by Acharya Kripalani before a meeting convened to protest against the resolution of the Meerut College Board regarding participation by the students and professors of the College in political meetings. Speaking on the non-co-operation programme he is reported to have said:

> It has become the fashion in our days to consider the non-co-operation programme to be Utopian, but I ask you what can be more Utopian than to suppose that this country can content itself with political liberty without asserting its economic independence? What can be more Utopian than to think that we can be free without even the limited swadeshism implied in the boycott of foreign cloth and the manufacture of our own? What can be more Utopian than to expect real national workers out of those who live and move and have their being in Government schools and colleges which are in every way soulless foreign institutions? If national life means anything, there must surely be a scheme

of national education wholly under national guidance and control, in tune with the past, responsive to the present and fully conscious of the country's destiny in the future. I ask again what can be more Utopian than to expect swaraj from the activities of the imitation Parliaments at Delhi and Simla and their provincial off-shoots. Were they designed for enabling India to realize her full height? They could only fulfil this purpose by destroying themselves and giving place to institutions natural to the soil and created by our own strength and initiative, not descending as doubtful gifts from our foreign masters. Take again the law-courts. I say that to expect justice from them as they are constituted today is all moonshine. Lastly, to believe that the din and the noise created by a few toy-bombs and pistol shots can overthrow the organized and mailed despotism that passes muster under the name of Government is midsummer madness that can appeal only to immature and over-emotional brains, rightly impatient of thraldom but still lacking in the exact calculation involved in solving the great national problem.

I hope that these words went home to the Acharya's audience. The students will never be able to give a good account of themselves in the struggle for freedom unless they become silent, effective, stout-hearted, self-sacrificing workers.

Young India, 19-9-1929

385. SOME TELLING FIGURES

The Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee has collected the following facts and figures:

Foreign yarn and cloth imported	Rs. 66 crores
Total cloth consumed per head	13 yards
Village population	29 crores
Persons dependent on agriculture	23 crores
Persons employed for part of the year	11 crores
Agricultural indebtedness of India	Rs. 700 crores
Average daily income per head	1 anna 7 p.
Average daily income from spinning	1 anna
Total employees in mills, factories, workshops and industries	15 lakhs
Capital invested in textile mills	Rs. 51 crores
Persons employed in textile mills	$3\frac{4}{5}$ lakhs
Capital invested in khadi by A.I.S.A.	Rs. 21 lakhs
Persons employed by A.I.S.A.	1 lakh
Cost per head of giving employment through mills	Rs. 1,328

Cost per head of giving employment through hand-spinning	Rs. 21
Proportion of wages for labour to cost of mill-cloth	25%
Proportion of wages for labour to cost of khadi	73%

I am almost sure that the import figures given by the calculator in the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee's office are considerably below the total.[1] I know that that office always errs on the right side. Let us therefore take the 66 crores as the correct figure. It means a tax we are paying per head of over Rs. 2 per year, and it is a tax which we pay for our idleness. If the 66 crores of rupees could be kept in the country and circulated among the 11 crores who are unemployed for four months, they will then have Rs. 6 added to their incomes for part employment during the year, a by no means insignificant addition. The service rendered by indigenous mills compared to that rendered by khadi appears too insignificant to be of any account. They can never cope with the problem of the terrible unemployment of millions of men and women, and even the few labourers for whom they can find employment get only 25% of the cost of textile manufacture whereas the labourers for khadi get 73% for work done in their own cottages and without the demoralizing atmosphere that surrounds factory labour.

Young India, 19-9-1929

386. *REASON* v. *FAITH*

I said in my article "Image Worship"[2] that faith begins where reason fails. That is to say, faith is beyond reason. Many readers argued from this that if faith is beyond reason, it can only be blind. My view is just the opposite of this. That which is blind cannot be faith. If someone asserts with full conviction there are flowers in the sky the assertion cannot be considered valid. For the experience of the vast masses of people contradicts it. Belief in the existence of flowers in the sky is not faith; it is crass ignorance. Whether there are flowers in the sky is something that is amenable to rational inquiry and such an inquiry will prove the falsity of the assertion. On the contrary, when we say, "God is", no one can prove that the proposition is false. However hard we might try through reason to disprove the existence of God, some doubt would still remain in the mind of everyone. On the

[1] *Vide* p. 420

[2] *Vide* pp. 338-40.

other hand the experience of millions proves the existence of God. In every matter, faith must be supported by empirical knowledge. For ultimately experience is the basis of faith and everyone who has faith must at some time pass through experience. He who has faith, however, does not desire experience for true faith does not admit of doubt. This does not mean that one having faith becomes dull-witted. He whose faith is pure always has a sharp wit. His reason tells him that faith is higher than experience, that it transcends experience, that it reaches where reason cannot. The seat of reason is the mind, that of faith is the heart. It has been the uniform experience of man that the heart is a thousand times more potent than the mind. Faith makes ships sail; faith makes men do great deeds — even move mountains. None can vanquish one who has faith. The wise are always afraid of defeat. The child Prahlad was perhaps to some extent lacking in intellect but his faith was unshakable as the Meru[1]. Faith does not admit of argumentation. Therefore the faith of one man is of no use to another man. One man with faith will ford a river, while another who blindly follows him will surely be drowned. That is why Krishna says in chapter XVII of the *Gita*: A man is what his faith makes him.

The faith of Tulsidas was unsurpassed. It was his faith that presented to the Hindu world a treasure like the *Ramayana*. The *Ramayana* is a work filled with learning, but the effect of its learning is nothing compared to the effect of its *bhakti*. Faith and reason belong to two different spheres. Faith helps us to cultivate inner knowledge, self-knowledge, and thus leads to inner purity. Intellect helps us to acquire external knowledge, worldly knowledge, but it has no causal connection with inner purity. Men of great intellect are also sometimes the most depraved in character. But it is impossible to associate moral depravity with faith. Readers can understand from this how a child may reach the highest point in faith and yet retain intellectual balance. How to find that faith? The *Gita* and the *Ramacharitamanasa* provide the answer. It can be had through devotion, through cultivating the company of the good. Those who have had the benefit of *satsang* will have realized the truth of the saying: "What good will not *satsang* do to men?"

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 19-9-1929

[1] Name of a mountain

387. TESTIMONIAL TO MUNSHI AJMERI

AGRA,
September 19, 1929

While in Agra I had the privilege, in an abundant measure, of enjoying the music of Bhai Ajmeriji. His melodious voice and his knowledge of Hindi and Sanskrit gave me immense joy.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From Hindi]

Jyotsna, Munshi Ajmeri Commemorative Issue, 1969

388. LETTER TO SECRETARY, BENGAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

CAMP AGRA,
September 19, 1929

THE SECRETARY
BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE
116 BOW BAZAR STREET
CALCUTTA

DEAR FRIEND,

As you know I have yet to report to the Working Committee about the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. The office has been worrying to choose an auditor and send the auditor's report. I have asked Sjt. Ghanshyamdas Birla to select an auditor and send him. If he does, please give the auditor he may send the facilities he may require for auditing.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15565

389. *LETTER TO B. NARASIMHAM*

CAMP AGRA,
September 19, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I would love to give you a certificate for your ink. I have invariably used it whenever it has been possible. My own experience is that it is an ink that is at least useful but the others who make use of fountain pens much more than I do tell me that it is not as serviceable as the standard foreign ink we get. I do not think that it matters that your ink might not be equal to the best so long as your ink gets the minimum use that might be required of any ink for the purpose for which it might be intended. But when it comes to a matter of issuing a certificate I have the greatest hesitation. I do not want to exaggerate and mislead the public. I therefore advise you to stand on your own merits just now. Let me use your ink freely in the Ashram for some time and when I have got universal testimony from all those who might use your ink in the Ashram I will be more free to give you a certificate than I am now. You will therefore send me a moderate quantity from time to time of the ink that you may issue for the market and I shall see that you get reports from time to time and when I am ready to give the certificate you shall have it.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. B. NARASIMHAM
SECRETARY, GUNTUR MANDALA JATHIYA VIDYA PARISHAD
TENALI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15549

390. LETTER TO L. BANARASIDAS

CAMP AGRA,
September 19, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It is difficult for me to believe that the Servants of the People Society would not give you a hearing. I am forwarding your letter to them.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. L. BANARASIDAS, B.A., LL.B.
MANAGER, RADHA KISHAN HIGH SCHOOL
JAGRAON

From a microfilm: S.N. 15563

391. LETTER TO BHANU PRASAD

CAMP AGRA,
September 19, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. It would certainly be much more convenient for me to see you personally before I give you any advice. I therefore accept your suggestion that you should see me when I am in Fyzabad or you may anticipate the date and try to see me at Banaras or Lucknow. I hope you are better.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BHANU PRASAD
RAKAGUNJ
FYZABAD (AUDH)

From a microfilm: S.N. 15564

392. LETTER TO RADHA GANDHI

AGRA,
September 19, 1929

CHI. RADHA,

Nowadays I have to carry on my work mostly by dictating letters, because, if I must take rest and also attend to business, I have to dictate letters while taking meals or while spinning. How did you happen to have an attack of fever? It does not matter if Manu has left. When Santok comes, tell her to write to me in detail.

I wish to solve the problem of Umiya as early as possible. It would be very good if she improves her Gujarati a little more. Write to her about it from time to time. How is Rukmini's health? Whenever you two sisters get an opportunity for service, you should acquit yourselves well and cultivate the utmost humility.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8676. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhri

393. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

AGRA,
September 19, 1929

CHI. PREMA,

I have your[1] letter. In using the singular I have yielded to my trust in you. Your lengthy reply was welcome. Sons and daughters should be satisfied if the father, busy with his work, writes only a line, but they on their part ought to pour out their hearts when writing to him.

It is of course quite true that I wish to catch anyone that walks into my net. One may be completely ruined if caught in somebody else's net. But I do not know of any person that was ruined by being caught in mine. Your request for money to pay

[1] Gandhiji has used the pronoun in the singular.

the fare to Bombay is right and I was happy that you made it. I have written to Chhaganbhai Joshi about it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–5: Kum. Premabehn Kantakne, p. 5

394. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

AGRA,
September 19, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. Read the letters on Gangabehn before passing them on, so that you may know my view. Manji has given her a real fright, whereas he ought to have offered his sympathy to her. Personally I am convinced that . . .[1] has committed theft. You know, do you not, that she had committed some thefts even in the past?

The doubt which I had expressed in a previous letter about [A][2] has proved correct for the present at any rate. If he can cultivate the ability to see his wife's defects, she will cease to be a wife to him and become one among his countless sisters. This case of [A] proves to me for the thousandth time that a husband is a wonderful creature. I have said what I wished to. You may now do what you think best.

I should like you to believe firmly that your mind is not impure. You should fulfil only one condition to be entitled to hold this belief, and that is that you should not nurse impure thoughts even for a moment but fight them every time they invade your mind. The mind will always be running in all directions; our manhood and our duty lie in taming and controlling it. A person who believes that his mind is impure sometimes nurses his impurity or becomes weak. Hence, so long as we are continually battling against impurity, we should never admit that we are impure. This is worship of the truth in its purest form.

It is good indeed if Marathe now admits the failure of his experiment. In that case, however, it is necessary that he should make his experiments in the presence of all and give whatever he has to the pupils learning carpentry, that is, become a teacher.

[1]&[2] The names are omitted in the source.

If you can politely explain this to him, try to do so. Or put it before Nathji.

You need not send money to Sind just now, for the work there is being mismanaged and Malkani's services cannot be utilized fully. He has been, much against his will, drawn into a Government committee. I have, therefore, written to him and told him that he should not spend the money sent to him in the past through that committee.

You should also keep with you for the present the money received for the Assam Flood Relief Fund.

In this season of fever, everyone should drink boiled water. It would be better still if they keep the bowels light with the help of purgatives or enema, and reduce the quantity of food. If anyone has the slightest fear that he is getting fever, he should take 3 grains of quinine and 15 grains of soda bicarb in lime juice.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5440; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 134-6

395. LETTER TO MADHAVJI THAKKAR

AGRA,
September 19, 1929

CHI. MADHAVJI,

I had to keep aside your letter for some days. As for continuing the present diet, I think it necessary that you should get yourself examined for an assessment of the results. There is no doubt that you will regain strength. Eat only as much as you can digest. Be in no hurry about putting on weight. Certainly, it is an ideal thing to leave off business and devote yourself entirely to public work in a spirit of service to others, but this cannot be done in a hurry. You may retire from business only when you feel certain in your mind that it is quite impossible for you to stay on in business. It is absolutely necessary not to take a hasty step and have to repent later. My advice to many has been that they should begin by regarding themselves as trustees of

their business, and that, while they ran it in this spirit, they should make their personal life plain and simple, maintaining themselves at the least possible expense. If a person can do this, he will feel no pain on having to give up the business altogether just as the trustee feels none on relinquishing his trust, and will find it easy and natural to devote himself to public service. I hope you will try to carry your wife with you in your plans.

I am enclosing the programme of my tour.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6792

396. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MAINPURI,
September 20, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I had expected to get your letters today here in Mainpuri, but did not get any. I, therefore, expect to receive them in Kanpur the day after tomorrow. Today my mind is engrossed in *Young India* and, besides, visitors are waiting to see me. I, therefore, dictate nothing further.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Tell Bal that I have had no time to write to him. I shall write now.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5441; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, p. 136

397. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

FARRUKHABAD,
September 21, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We are in Farrukhabad today. I did not get the post even here. I believe I shall have a pile tomorrow in Kanpur.

Gopalrao must have returned now. I should know what effect the operation has had on him.

Narandas must have taken up the work now. You had asked me about the expenditure incurred by Ratilal. I never told him that he could spend as much as he liked, though I certainly told him that he need not obtain permission for every pie he spent. That is, as is the case with a bank account, when he has finished his 150 rupees, anything he draws in excess of that figure will be an overdraft, and, when that happens, we should inform him. All this requires tact. It would even be good if you gave him one book. He would then know immediately how much he had drawn. It will be necessary for him to know this whenever he wishes to draw a large sum. We should treat him with love and save as much as we can.

Waman Pataki conducts the Hindi class well enough. I met Premraj's guru today. He had come to bring me to Farrukhabad. He is President of the Congress Committee. He has, therefore, not two children but more. I have told him that, if Premraj settles down and agrees to look after the children, there will be no difficulty in taking charge of them. Most probably I shall get an opportunity to see those children today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5442; also *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 136-7

398. DOES A VILLAGE MEAN A DUNGHILL?

Mr. Curtis who toured India in 1918 and who played some role in framing the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms has in the course of an article about our villages, said that compared to villages in other countries, Indian villages seemed to be raised on dunghills! It is understandable that we do not find this criticism palatable, but no one can deny the truth in it. If we approach any village, the very first thing we encounter is the dunghill and this is usually placed on raised ground. On entering the village, we find little difference between the approach and what is within the village. Here too there is dirt on the roads. At any time, children may be found defecating on the streets and in by-lanes. As for making water, even adults will be found doing it anywhere. If a traveller who is unfamiliar with these parts comes across this state of affairs, he will not be able to differentiate between the dunghill and the residential part. As a matter of fact, there is not much of a difference between the two.

However ancient this habit may be, it is, nevertheless, a bad habit and should be eradicated. The *Manusmriti* and other Hindu religious scriptures, the Koran, the Bible, and the injunctions of Zoroaster—all give detailed suggestions regarding maintaining the cleanliness of roads, courtyards, homes, rivers and wells. However, today we are simply disregarding this so much so that there is a good deal of filth to be found even in our places of pilgrimage. Perhaps one could say that there is more of it in these places.

I have seen thousands of men and women dirtying the banks of the Ganga at Hardwar. Pilgrims defecate at the very spot where people sit, wash their faces, etc., in the Ganga and then again fill their pots at the very same spot. I have come across pilgrims defiling lakes in the same manner at places of pilgrimage. In doing this we destroy the dharma of compassion and disregard our duty to society.

Such recklessness leads to pollution of air and water. Is it surprising then that cholera, typhoid and other infectious diseases follow as a result of this? It is dirty water which is the very source of cholera. The same can be largely said of typhoid too. It is no exaggeration to say that almost 75 per cent of diseases are caused by our insanitary habits.

Hence the primary duty of a village worker is to educate villagers in sanitary habits. Speeches and leaflets occupy the lowest

place in such education. This is so because these insanitary habits have taken such deep root that the villagers are not prepared to listen to the volunteers, and, even if they do so, show a singular lack of enthusiasm to act accordingly. If leaflets, etc., are distributed, they will surely not read them. Many will not even know how to read and, not being inquisitive, those who can read, will not read them out to the others.

Hence it is the dharma of the volunteers to give object-lessons. Only if they themselves perform the tasks that have to be performed by the villagers, will the latter follow their example; then doubtless they will positively do so. Even so, patience will certainly be required. There is no reason to conclude that people will start doing things on their own just because we have served them for a couple of days.

A volunteer should first of all collect the villagers together and explain their dharma to them. And at the same time, he should start cleaning operations, whether or no he can recruit volunteers from amongst the villagers. He should obtain from the very village a spade, a basket or a bucket, a broom and a pickaxe. If assured that these articles will be returned to them after use, the people will probably not refuse to lend them.

The volunteers should now inspect the roads and go round to all the places where there are any human excreta. They should collect all faeces in their baskets with the help of the spade and cover up those spots; wherever they find that people have urinated, they should collect the wet earth from those spots in those very baskets and throw over it clean earth from the surrounding area. If there is any other filth lying around, they should sweep it with the broom and make a heap in one corner and remove it in the same baskets after having disposed of the excreta.

Where to dump the excreta is an important question. It is a question both of cleanliness and of economics. If permitted to lie around, the thing emits a foul smell. Flies which sit on it and then sit on our bodies or our food spread infectious diseases all round. We would give up eating many sweets and other items of food if we examined them with the help of a microscope.

To the cultivator the dirt is gold. If put in the fields, it becomes fine manure and increases the yield. The Chinese are experts in this matter and it is said that they save crores of rupees by preserving excreta like gold and, at the same time, avoid the incidence of many diseases.

Hence the volunteer should explain this matter to cultivators and, if permitted to do so, should bury it in their fields. If any

farmer, through ignorance, disregards the sanitary methods suggested by the volunteer, the latter should find a spot in the dunghill and bury the excreta there. Having completed this task, the volunteer should now approach the garbage heap.

Garbage is of two types. The first is that which is suitable material for manure—such as peels and skins of vegetables, grain, grass, etc. The other type includes bits of wood, stones, sheets of iron or tin, etc. Of these, the first type should be kept in fields or at places where manure from it can be collected, and the second should be carried and buried at places where pot-holes, etc., need to be filled in. As a result of this, the village will remain clean and people who walk bare-footed will be able to do so fearlessly. After a few days' labour, the people will surely realize the value of it. And once this realization dawns on them, they will start helping and finally start doing things on their own. Every farmer will utilize in his own fields the excreta of his own family, so that no one will find anyone else being a burden to him and everyone will go on enriching his own crop.

We should never get into the habit of defecating on the road. It is uncivilized to do so in the open in public and to make even little children do so. We are aware of the uncivilized nature of this act, for we avert our eyes if anyone happens to pass at that moment. Hence every village should have the most inexpensive water-closets built at one place. The spot at which the dunghill is located can itself be used for this purpose. Farmers can share among themselves the manure accumulated in this manner. And so long as they do not start making such arrangements, volunteers should clean dunghills in the same way as they clean streets. Every morning after the villagers have performed this function, they should go to the dunghill at an appointed hour, clean up all the filth and dispose of it in the manner mentioned above. If no field is available, one should mark out the place where the excreta may be buried. If this is done, it will facilitate the task every day and when the farmers get convinced of the matter, they can make use of the manure that is collected there.

This excreta should not be buried very deep in the ground, as innumerable germs which usefully serve us live within nine inches of the surface of the earth. Their task is to turn everything within that layer into manure and purify all filth. The sun's rays too render great service and act as the messengers of Rama. Anyone who wishes to test this may do so through experience. Some of the excreta should be buried nine inches below the earth's surface and the ground dug up after a week in order to take note

of what happens to it. Another portion of the very same excreta should be buried three to four feet below the surface of the ground and then what happens to it should be examined. One would, thereby, learn through experience. Although the excreta should not be buried deep in the earth, it must be well covered with mud, so that dogs cannot dig it up and foul odour is not emitted. It would be advisable to place a thorny hedge around the spot in order to prevent dogs from digging it up.

When I speak of burying excreta we should understand that there should be a large square or rectangular pit for it. For, no further excreta is to be put on that already buried and the pit is also not to be opened up soon. Hence the following day there would be ready another small square pit near where the excreta was buried the previous day. The earth removed from it would have been kept on one side. All that would have to be done the next day would be to bury the excreta, cover it up with the earth, level it properly and go away. Garbage consisting of peels of vegetables, etc., should be turned into manure on a spot near the above. This is so because human excreta and peels of vegetables, etc., cannot be turned into manure by burying them together. Worms do not operate on the two in the same manner. It must now have been clear to volunteers that the place at which they bury excreta will always remain clean, will have an even surface, and look like a newly ploughed field.

Now remains the heap that is not fit for making manure. The rubbish accumulated in it should be buried in a deep hole at a single spot or wherever holes have to be filled up around the village. It too must be buried every day, should be pressed down from above and kept clean.

If this activity is carried on for a month, villages will cease to be dunghills and become instead clean and beautiful. The reader must have realized that no expense is involved in this. This neither requires any help from the Government nor any great scientific power. All that is required is a volunteer with zeal.

It is not necessary to add that what applies to human excreta also applies to the excreta of animals. However, we shall consider this in the next chapter.[1]

[From Gujarati]

Shikshan ane Sahitya, 22-9-1929

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLII, "Cowdung Cakes or Manure", 17-11-1929.

399. OX v. BULLOCK

A young man wants to know why although a bull does not fetch as good a price as a bullock, it is regarded a sin to castrate the bull.

This question has already been discussed in *Navajivan*. However, many people may not recall it. It is a question that arises readily. One cannot say that there is no harm involved in castration. The Shastras have taught us both our ideal dharma and our practical dharma. The latter not only permits castration but enjoins it. This is a very ancient custom, as old as the custom of drinking cow's milk. The reader must also be aware that horses and such other domesticated animals are castrated when this is found necessary.

The facts are as follows. All undertakings (or voluntary actions) are tainted, and from this standpoint, castration too is tainted since the calf subjected to it does suffer, however slightly it may be. It is tainted again, as the calf has no knowledge of what is done and would prevent it if it could.

However, we do not seek solutions to such problems by regarding them as matters of absolute dharma. Relative dharma does not proceed on a straight path like a railway track. It has, on the contrary, to make its way through a dense forest where there is not even a sense of direction. Hence in this case, even one step is sufficient. Many circumstances have to be considered before the second step is taken and, if the first step is towards the north, the second may have to be taken towards the east. In this manner, although the path may appear crooked, since it is the only one which is correct, it can also be regarded as the straight one. Nature does not imitate geometry. Although natural forms are very beautiful, they do not fit in with geometrical patterns.

If it is desirable for us to drink cow's milk and use the bullock for ploughing, it is our dharma to castrate the calf; not doing so would amount to an irreligious act. In this manner, something which when regarded independently is the very opposite of dharma, becomes dharma when considered with reference to a given situation. If we do not subject calves to castration, do not run dairies, do not conduct tanneries, do not put the bones, hides and intestines, etc., of the cow to practical use and still wish to drink cow's milk, we shall become beef-eaters like the Westerners or, in the alternative, our cattle-wealth will be destroyed.

This latter is taking place today. Experienced people are aware that the cow which decreased the burden of the earth, or in other words, yielded more milk than the quantity of fodder that it consumed, that very cow has become a burden to India. In other words, it yields much less in proportion to what it consumes. Hence, many persons, through ignorance and carelessness, have started keeping buffaloes and drinking their milk. Myriads of cows are sent to Australia for being slaughtered. Innumerable cows are slaughtered in India and their beef is exported to Burma. Countless others die a premature death. No one has the figures of cows which perish in this manner. Those that still survive live as if on sufferance. They are not given sufficient fodder as they do not yield sufficient milk.

If we had not become apathetic to our dharma, if we had not been indifferent to it, we would have studied the science of cattle-breeding in the same way we study the other sciences and would relinquish those ancient superstitions or ancient practices which have lost their utility or become harmful today.

For many years now, I have in effect come to the conclusion and have tried to persuade others that it is the dharma of everyone wishing to serve the cow to see to it that those calves which do not belong to the best pedigrees and are therefore not fit to beget cows are castrated while still very young and reared as bullocks. It is a sin to disregard the necessary dharma which is in keeping with the times under the pretext of following an imaginary but ideal dharma which is not practicable.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 22-9-1929

400. LETTER TO MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM

September 22, 1929

CHI. MATHURADAS,

You have taken a difficult vow. But it is good that you have done so. May God help you. To control one's anger is not easy, and very often one is not even conscious that one has become angry. However, one can succeed in every aspiration through persistent effort. Our duty is to make such effort.

I hope you keep good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3731

401. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

KANPUR,
[*September 22, 1929*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We arrived in Kanpur at half past eleven. Here the post leaves early. If I wish to catch today's post, and I must, I should be brief. Ramniklal has come here to see me. He is in excellent health. We have observed that it does good to send out people from the Ashram by turns.

The worries of running the Ashram will waste away the health of anyone with a sense of duty. So long as we have not cultivated non-attachment, this is bound to happen.

I once again find that the packets of letters I get from you are secured carelessly. You should tie the string round the packet so tight that not a single letter can fall out. The string round this packet was for show, as it were. The cover was torn, so that any letter could slip out of it. Look into this. The person who ties up the packets should be properly trained. I am writing to Gangabehn. More by tomorrow's post.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 137-8

402. SPEECH AT KANPUR[2]

September 22, 1929

Gandhiji, in his reply, referring to the first told them that experience had shown that there were three definite conditions which must be fulfilled to make the introduction of spinning in schools and colleges a success. The first essential condition was to have a spinning expert to do the teaching and organizing work. This could be done by inducing the teachers already employed to master

[1] As in the source

[2] In a joint reply to addresses by District Board and Municipal Board. This appeared under the title "The U. P. Tour—III". The District Board address stated that they had introduced compulsory spinning in schools and had spent Rs. 35,000 to solve the milk problem.

the art by promise of a small increment in salary. The second condition was to adopt *takli* instead of the charkha for teaching spinning in schools. The third condition was to have arrangements for getting the yarn spun by the students into cloth. Referring to the problem of milk supply he emphasized the need of expert guidance. The reason why the milk problem was daily becoming acute in India was that dairying had been criminally neglected. There was cow-slaughter in India today because the killing of cows today was economically profitable. If they wanted to save the cow and to solve the milk problem of India, tanneries must go hand in hand with dairies. They must improve the breed of the existing cattle so as to render their slaughter ultimately an uneconomic proposition.

Young India, 3-10-1929

403. SPEECH AT PIECE-GOODS MERCHANTS' MEETING, KANPUR[1]

September 22, 1929

Gandhiji, while thanking them for the purses and the addresses they had presented, said:

You could have easily excused yourselves from contributing anything to the khadi fund on the ground that you could not help a programme which, if successful, was bound to ruin your business. But to your credit be it said, you have chosen a better way. You know that the movement of boycott relies upon conversion, not on compulsion. And you know that if the people want khadi instead of foreign cloth, you will find your trade in the production and sale of khadi. You know that foreign cloth business has spelt economic ruin to millions from whom it has taken away the only supplementary occupation which could enable them to keep their heads above water. It is as their representative that I have come to you with my beggar's bowl. If I could persuade you, I would make you close up your business, and turn all your talent and business acumen to the service of khadi. But I know that you are not yet ripe for it. I would, therefore, ask you to give liberally by way of penance and not patronage.

Young India, 3-10-1929

[1] In a joint reply to addresses by piece-goods merchants and their employees. This appeared under the title "The U. P. Tour–III".

404. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

September 22, 1929

CHI. MAHADEV,

I get your letters. During this tour I have not been able to write to you at all. I remained content with writing what was unavoidable, and thus saved much time. However, I have sat down to write out this. My silence has commenced. It is now 9 p.m.

You have sent a good number of cuttings. I had read none except one. As yet I cannot write anything about Jatin. I am not surprised that what may be called our own circle fails to understand me. Personally, I have not the least doubt regarding the correctness of my view. I see no good in this agitation. I have been obliged to keep silent because what I would say might be misused. But people seem to have understood my position. No one has asked for my opinion. In saying this, I do not take into account questions by Press correspondents.

What you write about Vallabhbhai does not seem proper to me. To make him President now would be like swallowing a hair. However, we shall think about the matter further when we meet, since all of you are coming to Lucknow. I give no thought to the matter now. At the proper time, God will help us. No one has been pestering me either.

At Madras Vallabhbhai rose to the occasion and did an excellent job. As for Karnatak and other places, I am looking forward to your account when we meet. I liked those of your contributions to *Navajivan* and *Young India* which I have read.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11455

405. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

9.30 p.m., September 22, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Your letter of the 20th I got on the 22nd in Kanpur. In Agra I would have got it on the 23rd. This seems strange to me.

We should take care of the cows sent from Morvi, use them for our purpose and return them in improved condition.

I suppose you know what I meant by my suggestion to get the weaving school recognized. The certificates should be awarded by the Vidyapith and the examination, too, should be held by it. The same about the dairy—when we have made sufficient progress to enable students to appear at an examination.

It is better still that Lakshmi goes to teach [spinning to] Lady Chinubhai.

I have been taking interest in Budhabhai's quarrels with his wife for many years. This time I met the wife too. I have always thought that she was to blame. If the women talk about this among themselves, they should inform us too. I do not write more to you for want of time. If, however, you want to know the facts, see Budhabhai.

Blessings from

BAPU

[PS.]

How did it happen that the door of the goshala was not closed? Whose fault was it? There will be no harm if the people who have come from Lahore are arrested. Such things may happen. Some persons may even come to us seeking refuge with us. It should be enough if we do not get involved in their affairs.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5443; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 138-9

406. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

KANPUR,
Silence Day, September 23, 1929

SISTERS,

I got the letter written by Gangabehn on your behalf. I am very happy that Valjibhai has been doing my work. See that all of you take full advantage of his learning. I cannot give what he can. While, therefore, he is in a position to give more time, take the utmost advantage of his store of knowledge.

Lakshmibehn must have arrived there by now. I can understand why Ramabehn and Dahibehn cannot attend at prayer-time. Devotion to duty is itself prayer. We come together for prayer in order that we may be fit for physical service of others. When, however, one is required to do a physical duty, the doing of that duty becomes a prayer. If any woman absorbed in meditation hears the cry of someone stung by a scorpion, she is bound to get up from her meditation and run to the help of that person. Meditation finds its fulfilment in the service of the distressed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3702

407. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

Silence Day, September 23, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL (JOSHI),

I enclose with this Chi. Chhaganlal's letter. You will see from it that he continues to feel a little hurt. Is he a member of the Managing Committee? If he is, it seems he was not informed. There may be nothing behind such things, but the fruits can be bitter. You should ask in clear terms the information which you want. The framework of the budget should be prepared, as the Spinners' Association has done. That is, you should keep ready the heads for which you require detailed information, so that you will know the position as soon as it is received.

What Chhaganlal writes about management expenses is not correct. Where, however, extra assistants are also employed, the

price of khadi which is arrived at by adding 6¼ per cent to cost as management expenses may be accepted for comparison.

But the main thing is the resentment which Chhaganlal seems inwardly to feel. Try to discover its cause. Ignore what cannot be helped and try to remedy what can be remedied.

On a spring balance yesterday my weight came to 98 [lb.]; on our balance, therefore, it must be not less than 94.

Note what Chhaganlal says in his letter about Raghunath's carding. It shows that our work is below standard. Those who card should be able to do so for eight hours. The fact that Raghunath gets tired shows that his hand has not set and the muscles have not become trained. We may not expect him to acquire the capacity of a professional carder, but certainly he should not get tired. This applies to all processes. Everyone should become an expert in every process.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5444; also *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 139-40

408. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[After *September 23, 1929*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL (JOSHI),

I have your letter.

Your weight has gone down very much indeed. You seem to worry too much about things. You should go somewhere and live for a few months in a place like Almora and build a strong body. You ought not to have allowed your health to decline so much.

If someone feels hurt without any cause, you need not worry on that account. You had every right to ask Chhaganlal for estimates.

Munnalal, it seems to me, will not stay for long. Madhavlal is riding on the waves of imagination.

I was surprised to know that Narandas had changed his mind. Try and know the reason.

I believe that Ramniklal will arrive there after the Diwali.

[1] From the reference to asking Chhaganlal Gandhi for estimates; *vide* the preceding item.

I do believe that we shall have to send someone to the Lahore Exhibition.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5474; also *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, p. 175

409. LETTER TO DUDHABHAI

KANPUR,
September 24, 1929

BHAI DUDHABHAI,

Recently I have been again having unfavourable reports about Lakshmi. But I do not despair. We shall be able to discipline her only by keeping her alternately at Sayla and at Sabarmati. Her pranks are once again on the increase. At Sabarmati she cannot keep her mind under control for a long time. Gangabehn has showered the utmost love on her. She even spent some of her own money on Lakshmi, but she is still not mature enough to understand such love. Take her away, educate and send her back. These days she does not even write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 15823

410. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

KANPUR,
September 24, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. Jagjivandas has not felt hurt at all by your or my letter; this is a very good sign.

I have written to Mulchandbhai about the money. You, too, should write from there.

It is not necessary to discuss further the mistakes regarding the Mandir. In any case Ramji should not be involved in the affair.

I had another letter from Madhavlal. I do not worry about the matter. Such disputes will arise and end.

If Lakshmi cannot stay with Gangabehn in any circumstances, write to Dudhabhai and tell him that he should take her away for sometime; he may send her back when she agrees to return. If this is done every time it is necessary, she will become wiser

in course of time. I enclose with this a letter to Dudhabhai; you may use it if you wish.

I have had a letter from Galiara on the lines I had expected. It would be good if we could now start as early as possible.

I enclose with this the letter from that Englishman. Note down the particulars of his ship. Find from the newspapers on which Friday it will arrive in Bombay. You will get the information easily from *The Times*.

I am sorry that I shall not be there, but you should look after him. Do for him what I did for Mirabehn. That is, see that he uses a mosquito net, drinks only boiled water, does not eat pulses, consumes as much milk as he can, and eats butter instead of ghee. If necessary, supply him the fruits to which he is used — you may even consult him about this. When he moves in sunlight, he must wear his hat. He should go out very little in sunlight. There is a letter on this from Mr. Alexander who had stayed with us for one or two weeks. Perhaps you have seen it. I will send it for you to read.

You need not send anything to Malkani just now. I have already written to you about this.[1]

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5445; also *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 141-2

411. SPEECH TO STUDENTS, KANPUR[2]

September 24, 1929

Mahatmaji, replying, said:

The words in which you have indicated your affection would be most welcome only if all the students that are present here have room in their hearts. But I am afraid this is only the spirit of the speakers and, if that is true, then those words have not the same value. All religions have preached self-control as the first step towards progress.

[1] *Vide* p. 442.

[2] At D. A. V. College; Chatterji and Diwan Chand, the Principals, welcomed Gandhiji.

Pointing to the students, he said they were self-willed, but had no purity. After roaming amongst thousands of students, he had come to the conclusion that unless they had real purity and simplicity of heart, all institutions like the Youth League, etc., would be of no use. His 45 years' experience told him that without it people were useless. The students had desire, but that alone did not help in the matter.

Further, Mahatmaji compared the students to a person addicted to drugs, who under their influence spoke in plenty and showed various activities, but, when back to the normal state, did not amount to anything. Mahatmaji made a reference to the absence of the students of the Agriculture College, whom he called cowards because they allowed themselves to be confined even when they did not like the orders, but got ready to obey them because fear dominated their hearts, lest they might lose some job of Rs. 50 after finishing their studies.

Pointing to the students present, he said: "You must have done the same if your Principal gave a similar order." He begged to be excused for being plain and asked, if he was not plain to them, to whom would he be so? He further pointed out that with a spirit like that neither they nor the country could gain anything.

Mahatmaji further made reference to Swami Shraddhanand who never went to any meeting where he did not make a reference to *brahmacharya* and did not give it up even in his Gurukul. Likewise, Mahatmaji pleaded for control of the senses and told the audience that western books coming to this country never taught any control of the senses.

You ask me as to what I would have you to do in 1930. Well, I would expect you in 1930 smilingly to face death if need be. But it must not be the death of a felon. God accepts the sacrifice of the pure in heart. You therefore must purify yourselves before you can become fit instruments for the service of the country even unto death. Unless you cultivate a snow-white purity of character first, you may rest assured that you will not be able to do anything effective in 1930.[1]

Continuing, he said that simply to change the Government would mean nothing. As was seen, the present Indian officials were no better than Europeans. What was needed was a change in the system of government. He had everything to take but nothing to give when January came. They could have blessings from the poor women for the money given to him, but in January they would not get even this much. Mahatmaji made a vigorous appeal to prepare for the occasion during the three coming months and to show some signs as before sunrise the dawn was visible. Nothing was to be achieved unless they prepared during these months. Freedom could be achieved only after making a sacrifice with clean hearts. No swaraj was possible without purification of the

[1] This paragraph is from *Young India*, 10-10-1929.

heart. This was the first thing to be done and then came the working of the Congress creed.

The Leader, 27-9-1929

412. SPEECH AT BANARAS

Wednesday, September 25, 1929

Addressing the untouchables Mahatma Gandhi asked them to have patience. He said that though much work had been done for their betterment, it could not at all be considered satisfactory. As far as he could see, there was no such thing as untouchability in Hindu dharma; on the contrary it was built on the foundation of touchability. Just as one cast off a garment when it got dirty and put on a better one, Hindu dharma could be discarded only if one could find a better dharma.

He would not mind if anyone addressed him as a Bhangi or a Chamar. One was called thus because of one's occupation. And the occupation of a Bhangi or a Chamar was not a bad one. A doctor also performs similar work, there is no difference between their work and his, but a doctor's occupation cannot be called bad. Doctors charge more for their services, whereas Bhangis take just enough for their sustenance. They should pray to God that those who were oppressing them would purify their hearts.

Referring to some undesirable practices prevailing among the untouchables, he said: No one eats carrion except some of the untouchables. Achhutoddhar Mandal should be thanked for trying to wean them from this undesirable habit and they also deserve thanks for giving it up. But it is equally bad to drink alcohol. They could argue that even the doctors and Sahibs drink. But those who are well off escape reproach. Therefore they should not imitate the example of the doctors in this respect. One should not imitate the bad actions of others. These days Malaviyaji is going about purifying them.[1] But the real purification has to be achieved through their own efforts. The awakening amongst their people should not be used for any wrong purpose. One should not accept what is bad nor feel hate or something of the kind for others. They must always try to remove their own imperfections. Once the people find that the fault lies with them and not with the untouchables, they will worship them.

It was his wish that they too should make a sacrifice. He was asking for something small and simple. They were not dying of starvation and were also able to earn enough for their needs. But there existed crores in the country who were starving to death but who did not wish to leave their villages as

[1] The reference is to Madan Mohan Malaviya initiating the untouchables in a purificatory *mantra*.

they owned some land. How could they leave it and go elsewhere? If people wanted to share the troubles of such men, they should wear khadi.

[From Hindi]
Aaj, 26-9-1929

413. SPEECH AT HINDU UNIVERSITY, BANARAS

Wednesday, September 25, 1929

ACHARYA, STUDENTS, TEACHERS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

This is not the first time I am visiting this University. I have been here before. On one occasion you gave me money for the khadi fund and for *Daridranarayana*. You have given me just now a purse of Rs. 1,286-14-2 and perhaps, you will give some more. I am grateful to you for whatever contributions you have given so far and are likely to give. I say this as a matter of courtesy. But if you were to ask me whether I am satisfied with the amount I have received, then I would like to say no. I regularly get news about you. Respected Malaviyaji keeps sending me news about you. Whatever I have been told gives me the impression that your capacity is much greater.

Shri Jamnalal Bajaj visited this place. He told me of the work you have been doing regarding khadi. At that time I became hopeful. But from whatever I am seeing now and from whatever I have been told it seems that the message of khadi has not touched your heart. It is not a surprising thing, but it saddens me all the same.

The Hindu University is the biggest creation of Malaviyaji. He has been serving the nation continuously for the past 40 years. We all know how great his services have been. The Hindu University is the epitome of his life-work. Respected Malaviyaji and I have our differences of opinion. But the differences do not stop me from paying tribute to him for his services. The success of this University will be the measure of his success, and the success of this University can be judged by the way the students have moulded their characters, how far they have contributed towards the progress of the country and how much religion they have imbibed.

What are you doing to deserve the monumental service of the great son of India? He expects you to become not literary giants but defenders of Hinduism and the country through expressing

true religion in your own lives. . . . Remember that this, the greatest creation of Malaviyaji's, will be judged not by the magnificence of the buildings or the 1,300 acres that they cover, but by what you become. . . . If you will express the requisite purity of character in action, you cannot do it better than through the spinning-wheel. Of all the myriads of names of God *Daridranarayana* is the most sacred inasmuch as it represents the untold millions of poor people as distinguished from the few rich people. The easiest and the best way of identifying yourselves somewhat with these starving millions is to spread the message of the spinning-wheel in the three-fold manner suggested by me. You can spread it by becoming expert spinners, by wearing khadi, and by pecuniary contributions. Remember that millions will never have access to the facilities that Malaviyaji has provided for you. What return will you make to these your brothers and sisters? You may be sure that, when he conceived the plan of this University, he had the question in mind, and he embarked upon the mission in the hope that you would so conduct yourselves as to deserve the training given to you.[1]

The charkha is a small instrument but in my eyes a very important one. You may or may not agree with me about the charkha. But my faith in the charkha is ever increasing. You have a very big building here, and you can get all kinds of facilities you wish to have. Some of the students here do not have to pay any fees. There are some to whom Malaviyaji even grants some scholarships. He is doing all that a great man can do for the students—men or women.

Such is your condition here. And on the other hand there are crores of human beings in our country who do not get any thing except dry *roti* and dirty salt once in a day. In Jagannathji[2], people are dying of starvation. There is no lustre in their eyes. I could count every single bone in their bodies, and this did not happen long ago, it is happening now. In some places people get full meals, they over-eat so that they require the services of doctors and physicians, elsewhere there are people dying of starvation. I would like to know what you are doing for these dying men. Do you have no sympathy for these skeletons?

Daridranarayana is the aptest name for God. So long as a single such person is denied the *darshan* of Vishwanath, God can-

[1] Taken from the report in *Young India*, 10-10-1929, which appeared under the title "The U. P. Tour–IV".

[2] Puri in Orissa

not dwell there. The untouchables are not allowed to enter the place. If any untouchable does go to Vishwanath temple, it is only when "God" is specially kind that his bones remain intact. If you wish to meet God, then serve the *Daridranarayana*. You have given me Rs. 1,286. It is better than giving me nothing. But if you do not use khadi for the sake of *Daridranarayana* then what's the use of giving this money?

If you wear khadi you are being thrifty. You need clothes. If you wear khadi worth one rupee, 13 annas will be paid out of that to the poor people. But if you were to buy foreign cloth that money would go out of the country. The poverty witnessed in this country is not to be found elsewhere in the world, and if you wish to remove it, you should wear khadi.

I am aware that amongst those who wear khadi many men may be hypocrites, impostors, frauds and scoundrels. But those are common faults. Even those who do not wear khadi can have them. Even those who do not use khadi can be impostors or scoundrels. So if such a man is an impostor or a fraud at least one good thing about him would be that he does wear khadi. I came across a prostitute who wears khadi. She said to me: 'Pray to God so that fallen women like me are absolved of our sins.'

You should purify your hearts and whatever sacrifices you choose to make, make them with the purest intentions — whether it is going to the jail or the gallows. You must cleanse your heart first. Degrees can be had from any college. But there should be something special about your University. You can give something more now, if you wish to as you have not given according to your ability. Malaviyaji pins people down for contributions. He should demonstrate his ability now.

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 30-9-1929

414. CONVOCATION ADDRESS AT KASHI VIDYAPITH, BANARAS[1]

September 25, 1929

Acharya Narendradeva, who is the soul of the Vidyapith, had arranged a Vedic, ceremonial which every *snatak* had to go through before he could be declared qualified to receive his diploma and the blessings from the Kulpati Dr. Bhagavandas. . . . When Gandhiji entered the *pandal* that was

[1] This appeared under the title "The U. P. Tour–IV".

specially erected for the function, he was made to wear the yellow robe which the Kulapati and the officials of the University had to. . . .

This solemn ceremony being over Gandhiji had to deliver his address. . . . It was delivered in his own simple Hindi. . . . He began by saying that his faith in national education was daily growing and that he fully expected students discharged from national institutions to give a good account of themselves and find themselves in the forefront in the fight for freedom.

He said:

You are doomed to disappointment if you compare your schools or colleges with Government schools and colleges. The two are different in kind. You cannot command the palatial buildings nor a multiplicity of highly paid and learned professors and teachers that Government institutions which live upon the people can command. You will not have them even if you had pecuniary resources at your disposal. The aim of Government institutions is pre-eminently to turn out clerks and others who would assist the alien Government to carry on its rule. The aim of national institutions is just the opposite. It is to turn out not clerks and the like but men determined to end the alien rule, cost what it may and that at the earliest possible opportunity. Government institutions naturally must be loyal to the alien Government. National institutions can be loyal only to the country. Government institutions promise a lucrative career. National institutions promise instead only the barest maintenance for full service. You have just taken an oath[1] to discharge a triple debt. Truly, as Max Muller reminded us, life with us is duty. Duty well done undoubtedly carries rights with it, but a man who discharges

[1] This was in Sanskrit. It read:

"Q. What is your duty towards ancestors?

A. To banish injustice, helplessness and indigence from among mankind and substitute brotherliness, self-respect and truth in its place.

Q. What is your duty towards *rishis*?

A. To propagate enlightenment in the place of ignorance, righteousness in the place of unrighteousness, altruism and true culture in the place of selfishness and to make spirituality the basis of individual and corporate life.

Q. What is your duty towards the gods?

A. To propagate righteousness among mankind, to conserve the forces of nature and to utilize them for the service of man and to dedicate *charamashram* to the devotion of God.

Q. Will you fulfil these duties?

A. With the Effulgence of God as witness, I promise that I shall strive my best to fulfil these duties. May my effort be fruitful through your blessings and God's grace."

his obligations with an eye upon privileges generally discharges them indifferently and often fails to attain the rights he might have expected, or when he succeeds in gaining them they turn out to be burdens. Yours therefore is the privilege of service only. There can be no rest for you till you have played your part in gaining freedom for the country. If you will assimilate this fundamental distinction between Government educational institutions and your own, you will never regret your choice. But I know that your fewness worries you often, and some of you doubt the wisdom of having given up your old institutions and secretly cherish a desire to return to them. I suggest to you that in every great cause it is not the number of fighters that counts but it is the quality of which they are made that becomes the deciding factor. The greatest men of the world have always stood alone. Take the great prophets, Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, Mohammad—they all stood alone like many others whom I can name. But they had living faith in themselves and their God, and believing as they did that God was on their side, they never felt lonely. You may recall the occasion when pursued by a numerous enemy Abu Bakr, who was accompanying the prophet in his flight, trembled to think of their fate and said, 'Look at the number of the enemies that is overtaking us. What shall we two do against these heavy odds?' Without a moment's reflection the Prophet rebuked his faithful companion by saying, 'No, Abu Bakr, we are three for God is with us.'[1]

What kind of faith do we require? Not the kind Ravana had when he considered none his equal. We should have the faith of a Vibhishan or a Prahlad. They had the faith that, even though alone, they had God with them and so their power was infinite. You have joined the Vidyapith to find such faith.

A gentleman told me this story in Agra. A Brahmin did not have any knowledge of God, but on being questioned by a simple and trustful man, advised him to throw himself headlong into a well if he wished to meet God. The man believed him and acted accordingly, and he found God. It was the Brahmin who went to perdition. Similarly if the teachers have no faith but you have it and you wish to win freedom, then be firm in your faith, remember God and make an effort in that direction. You will be successful. The students of the Vidyapith should not, like the other students of Government institutions, make the mistake of thinking that to secure a job is the ultimate aim of their education.

[1] What follows is from *Aaj*.

I have defined swaraj many times. Swaraj can only be obtained through peaceful and civil means. Swaraj means Dharmaraj; without dharma it would mean nothing to me. The students of national institutions do not have the power to attain the other kind of swaraj. I am fully aware of my responsibilities when I say this. Do not be under any delusion nor delude others. I say so because I feel it to be true. Those who forget their duty towards their country and their religion, are sinners and unworthy men. It is the duty of the students to become truly brave soldiers in this struggle for swaraj.

Young India, 10-10-1929, and *Aaj*, 27-9-1929

415. TWO VALUES OF A RUPEE

It is remarkable but true how the value of a coin varies in accordance with the way in which it is used. If you spend a rupee in buying a death-dealing instrument for murdering someone, that rupee is dipped in blood, worthy only to be thrown away, whereas if you spend that same rupee for buying food for a starving man it may mean life to him. The rupee so spent is thus charged with life-giving properties. The one has earned hell for the user, the other has brought heaven nearer to its user. Similarly every rupee spent in purchasing khadi according to the calculations carefully worked out by the Foreign-Cloth Boycott Committee brings relief to the starving. It is distributed as follows:

	Rs.	a.	p.
Cotton grower	0	3	9
Ginner	0	0	6
Carder	0	1	9
Spinner	0	3	9
Weaver	0	4	9
Washer	0	0	6
Salesman	0	1	0
Total	1	0	0

Thus not a fraction of the rupee leaves the country if it is invested in khadi, and the whole of it goes to the deserving poor, the workers in the fields or in the cottages of India, whereas a rupee given for foreign cloth may mean with the exception of 1 anna for the salesman, that it is sent out of the country at the expense of its own starving people, and if the cotton of which

this foreign cloth is made is grown in India, 3 a. 9 p. might find their place out of the rupee into the pockets of the cotton-grower. But even there the speculator divides the 3 a. 9 p. with the grower. But for the huge export of cotton from India we should not have the ruinous gamble in the shape of cotton speculation which goes on every day in Calcutta and Bombay. Will the patriots understand this simple national arithmetic and shun foreign cloth for ever?

Young India, 26-9-1929

416. SIMPLIFYING MARRIAGE

A correspondent sends me an account of a marriage ceremony performed in Karachi. At the time of the marriage of a girl 16 years old, the daughter of a moneyed man Sheth Lalchand, the father is reported to have curtailed the expenditure to a minimum and given the marriage ceremonial a religious and dignified form. The report before me shows that the whole ceremony did not take more than two hours, whereas generally it involves a wasteful expenditure spread over many days. The religious ceremony was performed by a learned Brahmin who explained to the bride and the bridegroom the meaning of what they were called upon to recite. I congratulate Sheth Lalchand and his wife who actively supported her husband upon initiating this belated reform, and hope that it will be copied largely by other moneyed men. Khadi lovers will be glad to know that Sheth Lalchand and his wife are thorough believers in khadi, and that both the bride and the bridegroom were clothed in khadi and are themselves convinced khadi wearers. This marriage ceremony calls to my mind the scene I witnessed at the Agra students' meeting.[1] They confirmed the information that was given to me by a friend, that in the United Provinces young men studying in the colleges and schools were themselves eager to be married early, and expected their parents to go in for a lavish expenditure involving costly gifts, and equally costly and sometimes even more costly entertainments. My informant told me that even highly educated parents were not free from the pride of possession, and that so far as expenses went they beat the comparatively uneducated wealthy merchants. To all such the recent example of Sheth Lalchand and the less recent example of Sheth Jamnalal Bajaj

[1] *Vide* pp. 391-2.

should serve as a stimulus in cutting down expenditure. But more than the parents it is the duty of young men firmly to resist premature marriage, more especially marriage during student life, and at all cost to resist all expenditure. Indeed not more than Rs. 10 should be required for the performance of the religious ceremonial, and nothing beyond the ceremonial should be considered a necessary part of marriage rites. In this age of democracy, when the distinction between the rich and the poor, the high and the low, is sought to be abolished, it is for the rich to lead the poor to a contented life by exercising self-restraint in all their enjoyments and indulgences, and let them remember the verse in the *Bhagavad Gita*, "Whatever leaders of society do, the others will follow."[1] The truth of this statement we see daily verified in our experience, and nowhere more vividly than in marriage ceremonies and rites in connection with the dead. Thousands of poor people deprive themselves for this purpose of necessaries of life, and burden themselves with debts carrying ruinous rates of interest. This waste of national resources can be easily stopped if the educated youths of the country, especially sons of rich parents, will resolutely set their faces against every form of wasteful expenditure on their account.

Young India, 26-9-1929

417. *REASON* v. *AUTHORITY*

A correspondent has sent me the September number of *Prabuddha Bharata* in which the editor has answered my endeavour to reply to his recent articles on the cult of charkha and khadi. If that answer has satisfied the editor and satisfied the reader, I cannot carry my own arguments any further, and must leave the final answer to time and experience. But one thing in the editorial reply deserves notice. The editor questions the propriety of my remark that "the inferential invocation of the authority of the illustrious dead in a reasoned discussion should be regarded as a sacrilege". The editor resents this, more specially because *Prabuddha Bharata* is an organ of Swami Vivekananda's order. I must however adhere to my statement. I think that the duty of avoiding in a reasoned discussion inferences from the writings of the founder of an order devolves more specifically upon its members and its organ, for to sceptics the authority of the founder will be

[1] III. 21

of no avail, even as the authority of Shri Krishna is of no use to one who is not his follower. And experience has shown that in every case where there is an appeal to reason, any inference drawn from the writings of a great person, however illustrious he may be, is irrelevant and calculated to confuse the issues at stake. I would like the editor and the reader to note also that I have not criticized the citing of the specific writings of great men, but I have suggested the impropriety of drawing deductions from their[1] writings instead of leaving the reader to draw his own from such writings. Thus, for instance, have not the so-called Christians distorted the undiluted message of Jesus? Have not sceptics drawn opposite deductions from the identical sayings of Jesus? Similarly have not different *Vaishnavite* sections drawn different and often opposite deductions from the same texts in the *Bhagavad Gita*, and is not the *Bhagavad Gita* today quoted in support even of assassination? To me it is as plain as a pikestaff, that where there is an appeal to reason pure and undefiled, there should be no appeal to authority however great it may be. Curiously the correspondent who has sent me the *Prabuddha Bharata* has also sent me two apposite quotations from Sister Nivedita's writings. Here they are:

> Like others, he (Vivekananda) had accepted without thought the assumption that machinery would be a boon to agriculture, but he could now see that while the American farmer, with his several square miles to farm, might be the better for machines, they were likely to do little but harm on the tiny farmlands of the Indian peasantry. The problem was quite different in the two cases. Of that alone he was firmly convinced. In everything including the problem of distribution, he listened with suspicion to all arguments that would work for the elimination of small interests, appearing in this as in so many other things as the perfect, though unconscious, expression of the spirit of the old Indian civilization (*The Master as I Saw Him*, p. 231).
>
> His (Vivekananda's) American disciples were already familiar with his picture—that called to his own face a dreamy delight—of the Punjabi maiden at her spinning-wheel listening to its 'Shivoham Shivoham' (*Ibid.*, p. 95).

Whether these extracts correctly represent the master or not is more than I can say.

Young India, 26-9-1929

[1] The source has "his".

418. NOTES

THE BAN ON THE ALI BROTHERS

The following cable, which I have extended, has been received by me from the Secretaries of the South African Indian Congress:

> At an emergent Executive meeting held at Durban on the situation arising out of restrictions imposed upon the Ali Brothers' contemplated visit to the Union by the Union Government, the subject occupied the earnest consideration of the Committee and the following resolution was passed:
>
> "South African Indian Congress Executive as representing the Indian community of South Africa deeply deplores conditions imposed by the Union Government upon the contemplated visit of the Ali Brothers to the Union, and hereby requests the Agent of the Government of India to take all the necessary steps for the removal of all such conditions."

We know now what the result of the Agent's intervention has been. The obstinate refusal of the Union Government to waive the restrictions, especially in view of the unsolicited and gentlemanly assurance of the Ali Brothers not to engage in any political controversy or discussion during their sojourn in South Africa, shows in what estimate even the Government of India is held by the Union Government. That estimate will persist so long as the Government of India is an irresponsible Government and therefore remains a body whose wishes can be flouted with impunity by any foreign Government, whether it may be one occupying the Dominion Status or one wholly unconnected with Great Britain. I fear that we will have to submit to such humiliations so long as we, through our own disunion, dissensions and the like, remain impotent and powerless to help ourselves.

THEY KNOW

It has often been said that khadi propaganda means harm to the mill industry, and this has been said even by some Congressmen who should know better. Of course so far as I am concerned, khadi should hold the field even though it might ostensibly damage the mill industry; surely the vital welfare of the starving millions should have predominance over the material advancement of the few rich people. But as a matter of fact khadi propaganda has not only done no harm to the mill industry but it has resulted in demonstrable advantage to that great industry. The confirma-

tion of this view comes from no less a source than Mr. J. A. Wadia who, when asked at a shareholders' meeting, "whether khaddar propaganda had in any way affected the sale of Indian mill-made cloth", as chairman, promptly replied that 'he was absolutely in favour of khaddar'. He added that 'it was owing to khaddar that their consumption of locally made yarn had gone up considerably. Mahatma Gandhi was not against Indian mill-cloth. His propaganda was benefiting the mill industry.' I hope that this unsolicited testimony will dispel the suspicion working in the minds of many that khadi had damaged the indigenous mill industry. A little reflection will show that it can do no damage to the mill industry for the simple reason that against the crores of rupees worth of cloth that the mills produce annually the All-India Spinners' Association can show no more than 30 lakhs. But the khadi propaganda has produced in the people a love for swadeshi on a scale unknown before, and it has resulted in preference being given by the poor villagers to indigenous mill-cloth over foreign cloth. But the reader may note what many mills have done to khadi. They have unscrupulously and unfairly resorted to the manufacture of coarse cloth, and have not felt ashamed even to label it khadi with the pictures of the charkha printed upon that spurious stuff. This is the return some of them have made khadi for the swadeshi spirit it has been instrumental in infusing amongst the people.

Loose Thinking

A correspondent writes:

> In the course of an article you have said at one place: "Where marriage is a sacrament, the union is not the union of bodies but the union of souls indissoluble even by the death of either party. Where there is a true union of souls, the remarriage of a widow or widower is unthinkable, improper and wrong."
>
> At another place in the course of the same article you say: 'I consider remarriage of virgin widows not only desirable but the bounden duty of all parents who happen to have such widowed daughters.' How do you reconcile the two views?

I find no difficulty in reconciling the two views. In the giving away of a little girl by ignorant or heartless parents without considering the welfare of the child and without her knowledge and consent there is no marriage at all. Certainly it is not a sacrament and therefore remarriage of such a girl becomes a duty. As a matter of fact, the word 'remarriage' is a misnomer in such cases. The virgin was never married at all in the true sense, and

therefore on the death of her supposed husband it would be the most natural thing, it will be a duty, for the parents to seek for her a suitable companion in life.

Young India, 26-9-1929

419. HOW LOVE ACTS

Richard Gregg whom the reader knows as the author of the *Economics of Khaddar* sends me the following French parable by the poet Richepin:

> A widowed mother was living with her only son; they were the best of comrades, the most intimate of friends. But an adventuress got hold of the young man. She took away his money, his health, his position, his self-respect, and turned him into a vagabond. One day she told him that he must give her a supreme example of his devotion: he must murder his mother and bring to his mistress his mother's bleeding heart. Accordingly the young man went to his mother, killed her, cut the heart from her body, and holding it in his hand, hastened to the evil woman. In his haste he slipped on the pavement and fell headlong. The heart rolled out of his hand. Then the heart spoke and said, "Did you hurt yourself, my dear son?"

Let not the reader scoff at the parable as a figment of a diseased imagination. A loving heart does pity the erring loved one, and love even when it is itself wounded. It is not love that shines only in fair weather.

Young India, 26-9-1929

420. TO A CORRESPONDENT

To "A Confused Believer, a Teacher of History"

I am sorry I may not notice your letter, somewhat important though it is. I do not encourage correspondents who have not the courage to give their names not for publication but for the assurance of the editor, whom they must trust to keep confidence where confidence is asked. If you are anxious about a reply to your doubts and to that end will disclose your name, please rewrite your arguments as your letter is destroyed.

Young India, 26-9-1929

421. *TWO QUESTIONS*

September 26, 1929

When I was in Agra a gentleman sent the following letter[1]:

If anyone stopped this gentleman from seeing me, then it is a matter of shame and regret. It is true that the poor volunteers in their solicitude for my health were scrupulous about my time. They evinced their love in shielding me from my visitors while the love of those who wanted to see me and ask me questions would have them violate the time limit. The result was a constant tug of war. Visitors were put to some inconvenience, but everyone could come to attend the evening prayers. None was prevented from doing so. As the prayers were held in open grounds everyone could take part in them. One must understand that when so many people wish to meet one particular person restrictions of some kind become necessary.

Now to answer the first question:

I try to have an equal regard for everyone on this earth, as far as it is possible for a humble human being. Accordingly, I try to love India and Gujarat no more than other parts of the world. This equal regard does not necessarily mean that I can and do serve everyone alike. My heart, being free from the bonds of time, place and circumstance, can love everyone to the same degree. But my body has limitations and, therefore, the service it can render is also limited. My intentions are not to blame for this. The fault is inherent in the way this service is rendered. The way being what it is, India will feel that I belong especially to her. Gujarat will feel it in an even greater degree and in Gujarat those staying at the Udyoga Mandir will feel most of all. In fact my services are made available to the whole world through the Udyoga Mandir, if only because my services to the Udyoga Mandir are not in any way opposed to my serving Gujarat, India or the rest of the world. And this is what I call pure patriotism. This indeed is how I can discharge my duty to all concerned. This indeed is at the root of that great saying "as with the individual so with the universe".

Now to take up the second question:

In my humble opinion I have been truly able to understand India's condition. This is not because I have been travelling, but

[1] Not translated here

because of my intense desire to understand it. Many travellers from the West come here out of curiosity. They may travel more than I do, but they cannot know the country because they lack that intense desire to know it. My travelling undoubtedly helped me to know my country, but the root is my desire to do so. There is not and cannot be much difference between the conditions of one province and those of others. There can be some difference in degree. India is under foreign yoke and poverty-stricken. That is the greatest ill it is suffering from. To cure this would be to remove all other ills. Nothing can be achieved without doing this first. Anyone who would understand this plain, simple fact will have no trouble in understanding the remedies I have for the maladies that India is suffering from.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 26-9-1929

422. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

BANARAS,
September 26, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL (JOSHI),

Yesterday I got two letters of yours of different dates. The same thing had happened in Kanpur. There is something strange in this. I see in this nothing but the alertness or otherwise of the postal staff. When there are different routes for carrying the post to a particular place, the postal clerks dispatch the letters according to their whim.

I think that Raghunath and others who have come there from Vijapur to join in the birthday celebrations or for other reasons have acted wrongly. For this I would blame the sense of irresponsibility which prevails in our atmosphere more than the persons concerned. I come to this conclusion especially from Raghunath's action. We are always short of slivers. Raghunath and Govindji, the two working together, could barely supply our needs. And now Raghunath has come away. This does not seem to be good. Chhaganlal too seems to have been unduly lenient. I am writing to him also about this. It was his duty to have detained those whose presence was necessary. It is possible that such persons would have gone nevertheless. We would then have known where we stand and learnt something even from that. I write all this so that people may reflect over our shortcomings and

think how we should act in future. We have got to consider how to meet the needs of slivers in Vijapur. If we get hold of the remedy for this, which is devotion to duty, it would be easy enough to meet these needs. I think Raghunath should return to Vijapur. If those who know carding well make slivers even in the Udyoga Mandir and if these are sent to Vijapur every week, would not their shortage decrease? Think about this.

We must master bread-making without delay. From the women's section, Gangabehn should be spared for the required number of hours and our bread-making should be made perfect, or we should give up making bread altogether. If we do not do one of these two things, I foresee danger to our health.

I see much more meaning in acquiring the ability to do our daily work systematically and efficiently than in organizing functions like birthday celebrations which come once in a way.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5446; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 142-3

423. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

BANARAS,
September 26, 1929

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. I am glad to learn that you kept good health at Vijapur. That makes me think that it would be best for you to continue your stay at Vijapur for the present. You should gradually recover complete health.

You should learn to recite the *Gita* verses with correct pronunciation of the words. Can you read the Gujarati script? How did you feel at Vijapur? I keep good health at present. I take plenty of fruit, milk and curds. I have not yet resumed eating bread. Devdas arrived yesterday. He will be with me for the present.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2365

424. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, BANARAS

September 26, 1929

MOTHERS AND SISTERS,

I would like to say a few words to you. We want swaraj for the country. We should therefore know what swaraj means. Swaraj means *Ramarajya.* Swaraj does not mean unrestrained freedom. But how can we bring about *Ramarajya* without first attaining *Sita-rajya*? If you all become as pure as Sita, *Ramarajya* is sure to follow. Sita did not wear fine clothes, nor did she wear a lot of jewellery. She had compassion in her heart for those who were suffering. And what cannot one achieve who has compassion in one's heart? Women are compassionate by nature. You will surely reflect how millions of women do not get food, and do not get clothing. Their children do not get milk. By simply giving them money, bread or clothes, you will turn them into beggars. God has given them hands and feet and they are human beings like us. They must therefore work to earn their livelihood. We should enable them to earn their livelihood by spinning. We import cloth worth sixty crores of rupees from other countries. A large part of this foreign cloth is consumed by the women. You should all wear khadi so that this money remains in the country.

You should not marry off your children before they grow up. Girls under eighteen ought not to be married. Give them the right education. Do not even mention marriage in their presence; on the contrary relate to them the stories of Gargi, Maitreyi, etc.

Do not despise the untouchables. They are also human beings like us. They too have been created by God. They do not become untouchable or despicable just because they remove night-soil. If we adopt that attitude our mothers also become untouchables as they perform similar functions for the children. But they command our respect, because if they did not do this work, human beings would not survive. You all give me money and jewellery with great love. Give me your blessings too, so that I may be able to fulfil my work. Now you may all give what you can.

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 27-9-1929

425. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, BANARAS

September 26, 1929

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

My voice cannot reach you all, I hope you will forgive me. I have not the strength that I had in 1920. I thank you for your address. I thank you also for your contributions. You must understand that you cannot appease the hunger of one who comes to you as a representative of *Daridranarayana*. The money you have donated is not enough for him. It has been rightly said that the amount you have given as your contribution is not large. Malaviyaji and others had signed an appeal for five lakhs of rupees. This amount has not yet been collected. It is a matter of shame for us. We should have received more money from you. Even so I thank you for whatever you have voluntarily given.

I do not wish to take your time and I have not much time to spare either. I have nothing new to tell you. The Congress has chalked out the path we are to follow. It has asked us to boycott foreign cloth and if we cannot do so in Kashi where else can we do it? You should wear khadi. You have given money for khadi work and if you do not take to khadi, what is the use of your giving money?

The second point emphasized by the Congress is that Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis should all purify their hearts and live in amity.

Please don't pay attention to what is happening outside.[1] You have come for the meeting. You should give all your attention to the meeting. I am not going to stir from here.

We do not want either Hindu Raj or Muslim Raj. The Raj that we want is one which will ensure equal status to the rich and the poor, the worker and the landlord. All will enjoy equality of status. So long as this does not happen we shall not have swaraj.

Thirdly, we must remove the blot of untouchability. There is nothing like untouchability in Hinduism which has books like the *Gita* and which preaches the doctrine of *advaita*[2]. In the Hindu society we have four varnas: the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. But this does not mean that anyone of them is lower

[1] Owing to a disturbance outside the Town Hall, there was some shouting.

[2] Non-dualism

in status than any other. We must remove this blemish of untouchability and embrace the so-called untouchables. Schools and temples must be thrown open to them and they should be allowed to draw water from the wells.

Fourthly, I would request that those addicted to intoxicants like liquor, opium, etc., should give up their use. Those who are not addicted to them should gently persuade those that are to give up their use.

Fifthly, you should all become members of the Congress. Membership of the Congress means that you will undertake the vow to follow the Congress programme as explained above. You will then be bound to follow all such instructions issued by it as do not go against your religion. If you can fulfil these five tasks, then in the new year beginning on 1st of January 1930, you can stand up and act on your pledge. If we have the will, the perseverance and the strength, nothing can stop us from following this programme. It is such an easy programme that even an illiterate woman or a feeble old man can follow it. I pray to God to give us the strength to fulfil it and to grant us success.

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 28-9-1929

426. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

BANARAS,
September 26, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

You know that Parsuram who has stayed in the Ashram in the past, is at present working in the Banaras Hindu University. He will come there in a few days. At present he has holidays for a month and will spend the time there. Give him some work to do. He will certainly do such labour as sanitary work. But, in addition, those who are making special efforts to learn Hindi may avail themselves of his services.

There is also a student of Tilak Vidyalaya who is at present studying in the Hindu Vishvavidyalaya; he too is filled with the spirit of renunciation and now wishes to come and stay in the Ashram. I have asked him to write to you. If he remains firm in the decision which he announced to me today, he should be admitted. He seems to know Wamanrao Pataki quite well.

LUCKNOW,
September 27, 1929

I dictated the paragraph above in Kashi, and now I finish the letter in Lucknow. We get today the post which reaches here yesterday. Among others, I have your letter giving detailed information. You have given a good description of your difficulties. The fewer the women's classes conducted by Narandas that are broken up, the better. We had better not give up making bread in sheer helplessness. Those who fell ill did not become ill because of this work. There is nothing in it which should cause illness. There can be only one reason for their illness. Those engaged in making bread may have eaten too many sample bits of bread. Was not this the case with that graduate?

We should be able to satisfy Lakshmi's desire to learn Gujarati better. If Valji's time can be spared, he has the necessary qualifications and he has satisfied others who learnt the subject from him.

I understand from your letter that the house occupied by Mahadev has not been made over to us. I am certainly ready to write to Santok whenever you want me to do so.

It was not my suggestion that Gangabehn should herself make the bread. I felt, however, that it would do if she could supervise the mixing of materials. Hasmukhrai, Pataki or perhaps Bhanushankar may be able to do the job.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5447; also *Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, pp. 143-4

427. LETTER TO SECRETARY, A. I. S. A., MIRZAPUR

CAMP LUCKNOW,
September 27, 1929

THE SECRETARY, A. I. S. A.
MIRZAPUR
AHMEDABAD

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter of the 24th instant enquiring about the forthcoming Congress Exhibition. I have no reply to my letter

to Dr. Gopi Chand from which I should deduce that the Association did not participate in the Exhibition. If there is any change I shall let you know, if necessary, by telegram.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15610

428. LETTER TO JAGANNATH

CAMP LUCKNOW,
September 27, 1929

MY DEAR JAGANNATH,

Both you and Desh Raj have been very prompt this time and from what I have learnt about Mr. Brayne's activities Desh Raj's report may prove a most valuable document, of course on the assumption that it is an absolutely accurate statement. I understand that Mr. Brayne has been vilifying us in London practically at our expense. I have seen Purushottamdasji regarding Lala Benarasidas and I now know the position. I shall await the further letter from Desh Raj before I do anything.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15607

429. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

CAMP LUCKNOW,
September 27, 1929

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

I have your several letters but just now I want to notice the one regarding Malkani. I quite agree with you that it would have been better if Malkani had not joined the semi-official committee or could have avoided it. I have told him as much and I have told him also that so long as he is working for that committee the money sent from Gujarat must be held over. It cannot be spent through an official committee. I wish that Jamshed[1] had spared Malkani. It is not just to the donors in Gujarat to have their money left unused. It would be still more unjust and unlawful if I allowed it to be used through semi-official channels. Jamshedji has written to me asking me to authorize Malkani to hand over the balance of Gujarat money to his Committee. I have written to

[1] Mehta, Mayor of Karachi

him regretting my inability to comply with his request and regretting also that he should have drawn Malkani into the net and thus have lessened his capacity for service. Now you will do what you think is best. I hope you had a truthful and responsive atmosphere about you in Gujarat.

Yours sincerely,

SHRI JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
CONGRESS HOUSE, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15611

430. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

LUCKNOW,
September 28, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Imamsaheb arrived here this morning. He is fine.

It is quite true that there cannot be real non-attachment without spiritual knowledge. Non-attachment does not include ignorance, cruelty and indifference. The work done by a person filled with the real spirit of non-attachment shines far more and succeeds better than that of a man who works with attachment. The latter may sometimes get upset and forget things because of worries; he may even feel ill will and in the result may spoil the work. The man of non-attachment is free from all these defects. I need not write and explain this to you. But, when a thing we know is brought to our notice by someone else at the right time, it has an altogether different effect on us. I send to you from time to time useful thoughts like these which occur to me in order that you may not get nervous.

The correspondence which you carried on with the Vidyapith seems quite all right to me. As a trustee, you could have done nothing else. If your action gives rise to a misunderstanding, bear it in patience as temporary. For, so long as you yourself are certain that you have done a particular thing without ill will or without being carried away by emotion, you need not worry about the matter at all.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5448; also *Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine*, p. 145

431. SPEECH TO LUCKNOW UNIVERSITY STUDENTS, LUCKNOW

September 28, 1929

Mahatma Gandhi, replying to the address[1], regretted that the address was in English and not in Hindustani. Lucknow being a seat of Urdu culture, the address should have been in Devanagari and Urdu scripts which would have shown perfect amity and concord between the Hindu and Muslim boys of the Universtiy. He deprecated the attitude of those who neglected the mother-tongue and concentrated on learning a language which was foreign. He himself edited an English newspaper which decidedly proved that he was not against the English language as such. What he wanted was the proper thing in the proper place. He instanced the case of General Botha who, when summoned by the King, took an interpreter, although he understood English quite well, just to emphasize that he was Dutch in origin and valued the Dutch language above anything else. Mahatma Gandhi hoped that in future greater stress would be laid on the cultivation of the national language in the Lucknow University.

The Leader, 2-10-1929

432. SPEECH AT A.I.C.C. MEETING, LUCKNOW

September 28, 1929

I know my name was proposed and elected by a majority of votes, but I find myself quite unfit for such a heavy responsibility, though it is a great honour. I, therefore, utilize this opportunity to explain to you that it is my weakness indeed that I am shrinking from it and the same I have explained so many times through *Young India*.

What I felt most was for Pt. Malaviya who had no mind to come over here.

His mission in coming over to this place was only to persuade me, but I find that he is going back dejected.

While I do not want to undertake this responsibility, I do not mean that I shall keep myself aloof from the Congress programme. Suggestions have come from certain quarters that if I do not accept it, I shall commit another unprecedented

[1] Presented by the Lucknow University Students' Uinon

mistake. Anyhow I could not be convinced, and my conscience does not permit me to shoulder the responsibility.

I assure you that in every programme adopted by you at the Lahore Congress, I would be with you.

I feel I can do more work by not becoming the President of this year's Congress and I assure the house that I am firm on my words of responsibility that I gave at Calcutta. This crown, though, the thorny crown of the Congress, is unacceptable to everyone. Why? Because it is a question of great responsibility. I would suggest to you to elect one forgiving all that has so far happened. I shall be very ready to assist him to my best capacity. I shall be prepared for the worst if the chance comes. I am not to run away from the coming battle on the 1st January, 1930. I shall willingly extend every help in formulating the programme and scheme for Congress work. What I wish from you is to discard this futile mentality that if Gandhi is not on the chair or Motilal not in the front, the Congress would collapse. You should stand boldly on your conviction of heart and push the work ahead.[1]

The Hindustan Times, 2-10-1929

433. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[After *September 28, 1929*][2]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL JOSHI,

I have your letter. There must be more money received through Kothari from Rangoon. So far as my memory goes, about Rs. 35,000 was received. Look into the Kathiawar Parishad's or some other account. It may even be that a part of the sum is lying in the Deshbandhu Khadi Fund, for the entire sum was not intended to be spent in Kathiawar. You will, therefore, get the necessary information about this by writing to inquire at Jamnalalji's or asking Kothari. The people in Rangoon want the account to be published.

I understand your reason for again postponing the change concerning the women's section. It would of course be fine if you could make the change permanent. But do not force things on them. We should take care and see that Gangabehn and Vasumati do not break down in the attempt to carry out the change. If their attempt is voluntary, we need not worry about their

[1] The meeting elected Jawaharlal Nehru as Congress President.

[2] As in the source

breaking down. When, however, such experiments are undertaken through love or regard for others, it is not right that those who make them should break in the attempt.

This time Mahadev is there . . . .[1]

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 145-6

434. THREE QUESTIONS PUT BY A YOUTH

A young man has asked three questions. The first of these is as follows:[2]

Such horrible marriages are, in my opinion, not marriages but rather an exhibition of brute force. They are certainly contrary to religion whatever the legal opinion regarding them. I would certainly liberate a girl who has been sold in this manner and, if that were possible, get her married to a deserving groom. Whereever such marriages take place, young men should give publicity to them, find out the whereabouts of the girl's parents and visit them and try and convince the old man who has got married to set the girl free. In order to carry out this task young men should be worthy of it, be respectable and polite. The bride should in fact be a child. There is no help if the bride, although young as compared to the bridegroom, is mature enough to understand the situation and has married him of her own free will. There are such young women who, being tempted by wealth, sell their virginity to old men and then commit misdeeds. Who can deal with them? Measures can be adopted only in cases where the bride is a child, not old enough to understand, and where the father or some other guardian has sold her solely for money. Old men will stop looking for child-brides where young men can prevent one or two such instances and the former can satisfy their desires by searching out mature widows.

The second question is as follows:[3]

Speculation clearly constitutes gambling and does not benefit the public at all. There is no doubt that it adversely affects

[1] The letter is incomplete.

[2] This is not translated here. It referred to the fact that some old men got secretly married to young girls. The caste leaders took them back into the fold on payment of a small fine.

[3] This is not translated here. It referred to the fact that educated young men took up jobs with speculators despite their dislike of this form of gambling, but later themselves engaged in private speculation.

business. Wealth gained through speculation is like wealth obtained by theft. Public opinion should be cultivated in order to prohibit speculation. This is a very ancient corrupt practice and has become widespread today. It will continue in one form or another so long as the human race does not give up greed. Young men will be unable to cope with all the evils in the world, but much can be achieved if they themselves become pure.

Now the third question:[1]

A bridegroom's party of this kind is as fit to be abandoned as a caste-feast. It is a useless expense and is detrimental to the solemnity of the religious ceremony. Young men who are about to marry should oppose firmly both the feast and the marriage party consisting of the bridegroom's relatives.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-9-1929

435. *MY NOTES*

Fasting or True Conduct?

A reader writes to say:[2]

It seems that this association has not examined the consequences of fasting and truthful conduct. Otherwise this question would not have arisen. Fasting has no independent power to control one's emotions. These are often found to have become enfeebled in an individual who is fasting. Those who fast on the *Ekadashi* and such other occasions, become so ill-tempered during these fasts that those around them shudder to approach them. Had there been any independent power in fasting which would lead one to restrain one's emotions, many persons who die of starvation would have been blessed long ago. It could indeed be claimed, however, that anyone who wishes to restrain his emotions would derive some—however little—help from fasting.

Truthful conduct, however, is the best means of restraining one's emotions. It has unlimited power to control one's emotions and this power never fails to bring about results. Hence

[1] This is not translated here. It related to the propriety of holding wedding feasts and of large numbers joining the bridegroom's party.

[2] The letter, not translated here, read: "There was a discussion in our club as to how to conquer one's emotions. We all came to the conclusion that this could be done through fasting or good conduct. We could not, however, come to a decision as to which of the two could be more practised easily."

fasting cannot be compared to truth at all. Anyone who is not truthful cannot succeed in controlling his emotions, whereas anyone who is truthful can readily exercise control over his emotions. One cannot help doing so while practising truth.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-9-1929

436. *NOTE TO JAYKRISHNA BHANSALI*

September 29, 1929

Even the trees and plants converse with a person who is wholly devoted to God, for he sees Him and His sport even in these. We have not understood all this joy of *bhakti*. If we understand it, the beauty of *bhakti* would immediately be heightened for us.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 164

437. *SPEECH AT LUCKNOW*

September 29, 1929

Mahatmaji performed the National Flag-hoisting ceremony this morning in the Municipal Hall. After the ceremony was over, Mahatmaji begged pardon of the public for the delay in his coming.

I am grateful for the honour you have done me in giving me this opportunity but I would ask you to understand the full significance of this tri-coloured flag. It is not merely a piece of khadi without any meaning. The red colour in the flag signifies sacrifice, the white, purity and the green, hope. The three colours stand for one ideal, that of unity. It is the duty of the citizens to see that when once it is unfurled, it should never be allowed to drop down.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-9-1929

438. INTERVIEW TO FREE PRESS OF INDIA

September 29, 1929

In an interview given exclusively to the representative of the Free Press of India, Mahatma Gandhi, expressing his impression of the A.I.C.C. meeting's decision reached at Lucknow, said:

The proceedings at the A.I.C.C. meeting were marked with cool-headedness and no unnecessary excitement was witnessed after I had made my position clear as to why I do not accept the presidentship of the Lahore Congress. Yesterday's proceedings showed the wisdom of the A.I.C.C.

Questioned as to what programme would be adopted at Lahore for leading the country ahead, Mahatmaji said:

What the Lahore Congress would do is more than I can say.

The Hindustan Times, 2-10-1929

439. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

LUCKNOW,
Silence Day, September 30, 1929

SISTERS,

Lucknow is the home of the *purdah* system. There are many Muslim women here. They have sent a message to me and asked me how their hardship may end. I can naturally give only one reply, that we forge our own bonds. Only yesterday we had a meeting of such women. They were not compelled to attend it in *purdah*, but they thought that they could not do otherwise. The Ashram exists to remove such hardships, and its success depends on you. *If you break the shackles, observe self-restraint, acquire knowledge and cultivate devotion to duty, you will automatically have set an example to other women.*

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3703

440. *LETTER TO TARAMATI MATHURADAS TRIKUMJI*

LUCKNOW,
September 30, 1929

Devdas gave me the news about your father's death. I thought of writing to you immediately, but before I could do so the matter went out of my mind. I soon recover from the shock which death gives me, and console others so that they, too, may do the same. I see more clearly day by day that there is no difference at all between birth and death. The two are aspects of the same state and we keep on passing from one to the other. I have often watched mice playing such a game. In the prison cell I had to do the same thing myself. I used to walk from one walled side to the other and back again. So, then, which side did I leave and to which did I move? I have been talking philosophy, but it is full of truth and you should draw from it as much consolation as you can. In any case, time is doing its work of erasing all memories. Were it not so, God knows in what plight we would have been.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuni Prasadi, pp. 96-7

441. *LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI*

LUCKNOW,
September 30, 1929

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I got your letters. I am writing this from Lucknow. You will see from the newspapers that I have declined the Presidentship. I keep good health. The weight has improved fairly well and seems likely to go up still.

I am now waiting for Sushila to arrive.

My tour of this part (U.P.) will continue till the last week of November. I have no time to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4760

442. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

LUCKNOW,
Silence Day [September 30, 1929][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I got your letter conveying your [birthday] greeting. You have frightened me at the same time. Chhaganlal is losing weight. He now weighs only 96 lb. Go to his help. Maybe your temperaments do not agree in some respects. You have not explained your reason for not going. All that he said in his letter was that you might have felt hurt. I think it necessary to let him have rest for a few weeks. This seems possible only if you shoulder his burden. If there are difficulties in your way, please let me know about them. Purushottam's weight remains very low. Does he have motions naturally, without using medicines? It would be good if you can arrange for him to stay in Hajira. I should advise him to spend some time there and see if that helps him.

Why is Jamnadas's eczema not cured? Does he write and give any reason?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I, p. 41

443. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[End of *September 1929*][2]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL (JOSHI),

I have had no letter from you for two days. You should not understand from this that you must write every day even when there is nothing to write about.

I return the bill of the Khalishpur Ashram. The khadi which we have received from there was not ordered by us. If, however you think that its cost is as shown in the bill, remit the amount.

[1] Gandhiji was in Lucknow on Monday, September 30, 1929.
[2] In the source this letter is placed before the letter of 1-10-1929.

Write to me and let me know what the quality of the khadi and of the yarn is.

Has the elder Gangabehn calmed down? What happened about Yashodadevi?

See how things are with Krishnamaiyadevi. If you think it advisable to ask her to leave, let her go. If you can take Mahavir into confidence and find out why those people are frequently ill, try to know it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 146

444. LETTER TO FULCHAND K. SHAH

FAIZABAD,
October 1, 1929

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

I have your letter. Why should not the Meghwal brethren of Vanathali obtain from the State the money needed for the building too? Did any of them apply for the purpose to the State? If you think they ought to be helped, why should the Antyaja Committee not help? Even if from other points of view it is thought proper to give the help, whether we should spend money in a State like Jamnagar needs to be carefully weighed. If there seems to be no objection to that, the Committee should address a formal letter to the State and ascertain why it is unwilling to put up the building.

If it is considered necessary for the Wadhwan school for the *Antyajas* to have a plot of land of its own, the Committee ought to consider and decide that matter too.

In such matters the better thing, wherever the need for special help from me is felt, would be to approach me through the Committee.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 2858. Courtesy: Fulchand Shah

445. LETTER TO SHIVABHAI

FAIZABAD,
October 1, 1929

BHAI SHIVABHAI,

I have read your letter. I do not have the required knowledge to be able to judge the matter for myself. On the face of it, your argument seems to be correct, but you should communicate on the matter with Appasaheb and with Jethalal. In any case I am sending your letter to Appasaheb.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9493

446. LETTER TO MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

FAIZABAD,
October 1, 1929

CHI. MATHURADAS,

I have your letter. I am happy that you have taken up the work of running a spinning class. Attain, if you can, perfection in the task. For that purpose, you should build sound health. Take as much exercise as your body can bear. Take especially milk and preparations of wheat and green vegetables. The latter should form the main part of your diet. If you can digest, take a little of fresh vegetables uncooked. It is good that your sons are taking up work one after another. I hope Motibehn is now quite free from her fever.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3732

447. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[*October 1, 1929*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I am in Akbarpur today. With me are Ba, Kripalaniji and Kanti. Abbas is with me by chance. He was travelling to this place. As there were no facilities for staying here, I have left the others behind in Lucknow. We are here only for a few hours.

In your letter received yesterday, you have written about winning my confidence. You have it in unlimited measure. Were it not so, we could not have worked together for so long. What worries me is the state of your health, your unsteadiness and your lack of self-confidence. If you have these, you will be able to manage other problems.

Do not attempt anything which you cannot manage. Even if you find it necessary to give up the responsibility which you have assumed, I will not stand in your way. You should not lose your strength, and whatever you do should be done well. Nothing should be done in impatience.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5479

448. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

JAUNPUR,
Wednesday [*October 2, 1929*][2]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

The post addressed to Faizabad was received yesterday.

I send with this a cheque for Rs. 300 received from Shirinbehn. Credit it in the miscellaneous account so that we can draw from the amount for khadi or *Antyaja* work or similar purposes whenever we are short of money.

Enclosed with this is a letter for Madhavlal. Pass it on to

[1] From the reference to Gandhiji's presence in Akbarpur

[2] Gandhiji was in Jaunpur on this date.

him after reading it. Discuss the matter with him if he opens the subject.

Give me an account of the cow-protection exhibition. How many attended the city exhibition and how many the cow-protection exhibition? Take care of your health. Your request to Maganbhai seems to me quite reasonable. All of us have not learnt to understand the spirit behind such frank dealings. Have I not told you about Mr. Ireland of Delhi? He is a great friend of Andrews. Once the latter used his bicycle, for which he charged two or three rupees, for he considered himself a trustee for the cycle. When going to Simla, he refused to accept from me second-class fare and accepted only intermediate fare. Even the closest friends should have such perfectly truthful dealings with one another. We have before us the examples of Harishchandra, Taramati, Rohit, etc. You should have no fear.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5478

449. THE HINDU WIFE

The following[2] is a summary of a long letter of a brother describing the miseries of his married sister:

> Some time ago my sister was married to a man whose character was hidden from us. This man has been discovered to be a rake . . . She remonstrated. The man could not brook this . . . My sister is heart-broken. . . . We are helpless. What would you advise her and us to do? This is one of the most shameful aspects of Hinduism, where woman is left entirely at the mercy of man and has no rights and privileges. . . . Thousands of such women are groaning and weeping. As long as Hinduism is not purged of these and such-like evils, can there be any hope of progress?

The writer is an educated man. His is a much more graphic description than the summary is of his sister's distress. The correspondent has sent me his full name and address. His condemnation of Hinduism, though pardonable under intense irritation, is based on a hysterical generalization from an isolated instance. For millions of Hindu wives live in perfect peace and are queens in their own homes. They exercise an authority over their hus-

2 Only excerpts are reproduced here.

bands which any woman would envy. It is an authority which love gives. The case of cruelty brought to light by the correspondent is an illustration not of the evil in Hinduism, but of the evil in human nature which has been known to express itself under all climes and among people professing different faiths of the world. The facility for divorce has proved no protection against a brutal husband for a pliant wife incapable of asserting and at times even unwilling to assert herself. It is therefore in the interest of reform for reformers to avoid hysterics and exaggerations.

Nevertheless the occurrence to which this article draws attention is not an altogether uncommon occurrence in Hindu society. Hindu culture has erred on the side of excessive subordination of the wife to the husband, and has insisted on the complete merging of the wife in the husband. This has resulted in the husband sometimes usurping and exercising authority that reduces him to the level of the brute. The remedy for such excesses therefore lies not through the law but through the true education of women as distinguished from unmarried girls, and through cultivating public opinion against unmanly conduct on the part of husbands. In the case in point the remedy is incredibly simple. Instead of the brother and other relatives feeling helpless and weeping with the distressed girl, they should clothe her with protection, educate her to believe that it is no part of her duty to placate a sinful husband or to seek his company. It is quite evident that the husband himself does not care for the wife. She may therefore without breaking the legal tie live apart from her husband's roof and feel as if she had never been married. Of course there are two legal remedies open even to a Hindu wife for whom a divorce is unobtainable, and that is to have the husband punished for common assault and to insist upon his supporting the wife. Experience tells me that this remedy is in most cases if not in all worse than useless, and it never brings any comfort to a virtuous woman and makes the question of husband's reform more difficult if not impossible which after all should be the aim of society, more so of every wife. In the present instance the girl's parents are well able to support her but where it is not possible, the number of institutions that would give shelter to such ill-treated women is growing in the country. There still remains the question of the satisfaction of the sexual appetite on the part of young women thus leaving the inhospitable roofs of their husbands or being actually deserted by them when the relief given by divorce is unobtainable. But this is really not a serious grievance in point of numbers, for in a society in which custom has discountenanced

divorce for ages, a woman whose marriage proves unhappy does not want to be remarried. When public opinion in any social group requires that particular form of relief, I have no doubt that it will be forthcoming. So far as I understand the correspondent's letter, the grievance is not that the wife cannot satisfy her sexual appetite. The grievance is the gross and defiant immorality on the part of the husband. For this, as I have said, the remedy lies in a revision of the mental attitude. The feeling of helplessness is imaginary as most of our ills are. A fresh outlook, a little original thinking, is enough to dispel the grief brought about by defective imagination. Nor should friends, and relatives in such cases be satisfied with the mere negative result of isolating the victim from the zone of tyranny. She should be induced to qualify herself for public service. This kind of training would be more than enough compensation for the doubtful privilege of a husband's bed.

Young India, 3-10-1929

450. *THE THOUSAND-HEADED MONSTER*

The monster of untouchability shows his deadly fangs from his thousand mouths nowhere more persistently than in the South. Thus writes a correspondent from that quarter:

> Whereas it has been apprehended in orthodox circles that the preachers of untouchability are apt to confound the issues and implications involved in the principle by an attempt to push it to an undue extent so as to create unnecessary friction, I wish to elicit from you a definite pronouncement as regards the scope and extent of untouchability, in the light of the undermentioned observations offered in the form of questions.

Though I do not think that the "preachers of untouchability" or rather of anti-untouchability have done anything so as to create any avoidable friction, it is best to deal with the questions that often arise even in the minds of men who are not in any way mischievously inclined, and who would, if they could, endorse the anti-untouchability movement but who are unknowingly to themselves obsessed by agelong prejudices.

The correspondent's first question is:

> Do you think that the principles of varnashrama dharma are inconsistent with the formation of Indian nationality?

In the first place varnashrama has nothing to do with untouchability or with castes as we know them today. In the second

place varnashrama, as I know it, is in no way inconsistent with the growth of Indian nationality. On the contrary if it has the meaning that I have given to it, it is calculated to promote a truly national spirit.

The second question is:

> Do you think that sins of touch and sight are of Vedic origin?

Though I cannnot speak with authority based on first-hand knowledge, I have full confidence in the purity of the Vedas, and therefore have no hesitation in asserting that the sins of touch and sight have no support in the Vedas, but scholars like Sjt. C. V. Vaidya and Pandit Satavalekar can speak with much greater authority than I can lay claim to. I would, however, add that no matter what is credited with Vedic origin, if it is repugnant to the moral sense, it must be summarily rejected as contrary to the spirit of the Vedas, and perhaps what is more, as contrary to fundamental ethics.

The next four questions may be condensed as follows:

> Don't you think that the *karmakanda* is based upon a knowledge of the laws of magnetism, and that the rules regarding touch and sight, birth pollution and death pollution are intended for the purification of the mind?

In so far as they are so intended, they have a certain relative value, but the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas and all the other Shastras as also the other religions of the world proclaim in no uncertain terms that purification of the mind is an inward process, and that the magnetism produced by the inter-action of physical bodies is nothing compared to the other subtle magnetism of mind upon mind, and the outward purificatory rites become soul-destroying, when they result in making man arrogate to himself superiority over fellow-human beings and in making him treat them virtually as beasts or even less.

The seventh question is:

> Do you think that the procedure adopted by *jivanmuktas*, that is those who have in the present body attained salvation, who are above rules of the do and don't, are conducive to the spiritual growth of ordinary folk?

I do not think that anybody, however highly evolved he may be, who lives on the earth and among earthly beings, can be himself above the obligations binding on common mortals, and therefore these rules have to appeal to reason and must never be allowed to crush the spirit within. The rules about untouchability have been demonstrated and can be demonstrated to be

injurious to the growth of the spirit, and they are wholly contrary to all that is best and noblest in Hinduism.

Then the question is:

> Do you not believe in varna dharma?

I do in the manner often explained in these pages. In my opinion varna dharma has nothing to do with untouchability or superiority of one division over another.

The next question is:

> Exceptions to untouchability are contained in the following verse:
>
> कल्याणे तीर्थयात्रायां राष्ट्रकोपे च संभ्रमे ।
> देवोत्सवे च दारिद्र्ये स्पृष्टिदोषो न विद्यते ॥
>
> "Auspicious occasions, pilgrimages, political agitations, occasions of fright or fear, festive occasions of deities, poverty." These exceptions go to prove the rule. Will you please press this authority into your service and prescribe a limit to it?

The wise man who conceived this verse has taken in the broad sweep of his exceptions every conceivable occasion. I would, therefore, like the protagonists of untouchability to present the reader of *Young India* with occasions which will not be covered by fright or fear, poverty or auspicious occasions. And this correspondent has also not seen the terrible poverty of thought of those who hug untouchability in that in the various provinces sanction for untouchability merely rests upon tradition. No one has yet given an intelligent definition of 'untouchable', 'unseeable' and 'unapproachable'.

The last question is:

> In the attempt to spiritualize politics, what is the limit to which you want to relegate untouchability?

There is no limit. The very beginning of spiritualization of politics rests in the banishing, root and branch, of untouchability as it is practised today. Untouchability attaching to birth or a calling is an atrocious doctrine repugnant to the religious sense of man.

Young India, 3-10-1929

451. SPINNING SONG

Marjory Kennedy Fraser sends me all the way from America the following beautiful song rendered into English from the Gaelic:

> Love gave I to thee, my lover,
> Love that sister ne'er gave brother,
>
> Love that sister ne'er gave brother,
> To her lull'd one ne'er gave mother.
>
> Thou the wheel and I the thread,
> While fate spinning o'er our head.

Young India, 3-10-1929

452. 'YOU ARE BEING DRIVEN'

Before leaving America Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews sent me the following[1] from Reinhold Niebuhr's pen appearing in the May number of the *Christian Century*. The article is given in full together with the original headlines to the paragraphs. I reproduce the article, as it shows in a practical manner the fallacy of speed and over-production or rather production merely for the sake of gain. If we have our ills, the Westerners have theirs no less serious than ours. The moral that I would have the reader to draw from the narrative is that we may not deal with our ills by copying the doubtful methods of other peoples. We will have patiently first to understand the causes of our ills and then equally patiently to discover our own remedies and apply them with hope and resolution.

Young India, 3-10-1929

[1] Not reproduced here

453. YOUTH ON TRIAL

It was a great and a wise step the All-India Congress Committee took at Lucknow on 29th ultimo in electing Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the Congress helmsman for the coming year. No man however great, be he even a Mahatma, is indispensable for a nation conscious of itself and bent upon freedom. Even as the whole is always greater than its part, the Congress which claims to represent the nation is always greater than its greatest part. To be a living organization it must survive its most distinguished members. The All-India Congress Committee has by its decision demonstrated that it believes in the inherent vitality of the Congress.

Some fear in this transference of power from the old to the young, the doom of the Congress. I do not. The doom was to be feared from the sceptre being held by paralytic hands as mine are at present. I may take the reader into the secret that before recommending Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's name for the burden, I had ascertained from him whether he felt himself strong enough to bear the weight. "If it is thrust upon me, I hope I shall not wince," was the characteristic reply. In bravery he is not to be surpassed. Who can excel him in the love of the country? "He is rash and impetuous," say some. This quality is an additional qualification at the present moment. And if he has the dash and the rashness of a warrior, he has also the prudence of a statesman. A lover of discipline, he has shown himself to be capable of rigidly submitting to it even where it has seemed irksome. He is undoubtedly an extremist thinking far ahead of his surroundings. But he is humble and practical enough not to force the pace to the breaking point. He is pure as the crystal, he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a knight *sans peur sans reproche*. The nation is safe in his hands.

But the youth are on their trial. This has been a year for the youth's awakening. Theirs undoubtedly was the largest contribution to the brilliant success of the Simon Commission boycott. They may take the election of Jawaharlal Nehru as a tribute to their service. But the youth may not rest on their laurels. They have to march many more stages before the nation comes to its own. Steam becomes a mighty power only when it allows itself to be imprisoned in a strong little reservoir and produces tremen-

dous motion and carries huge weights by permitting itself a tiny and measured outlet. Even so have the youth of the country of their own free will to allow their inexhaustible energy to be imprisoned, controlled and set free in strictly measured and required quantities. This appointment of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as the captain is proof of the trust the nation reposes in its youth. Jawaharlal alone can do little. The youth of the country must be his arms and his eyes. Let them prove worthy of the trust.

Young India, 3-10-1929

454. *NOTES*

Credit Where Due

Correspondents have taken me to task for giving the Chief of Bhopal a guarded compliment.[1] I would have been guilty of discourtesy and what is more suppression of truth if I had not paid it. Having accepted His Highness's hospitality and having noticed the remarkable simplicity of his abode, miscalled palace, how could I claim to be true to my host and myself if I suppressed the fact when its mention had become relevant? I issued no general certificate of merit. I had no evidence before me to form an opinion about the general administration of Bhopal. I had no time to study it even if I had wanted to. I therefore possessed no qualifications for pronouncing any opinion. One correspondent has sent me a copy of the note from among the notes prepared by the Indian States Conference. I am unable to base any opinion on that, nor would I be justified in publishing it without first submitting it to the State authorities and obtaining their version about the charges made in the note. But the paying of the reserved compliment and the declaration of my general belief about Indian States enable me to forward that note to His Highness in full confidence that it will be carefully read by him and even sympathetically considered.

Nagari Pracharini Sabha

The General Secretary, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, sends the following notice for publication:

> The Bharat Kala Parishad of Benares has handed over its entire art collection of paintings, statues and other historical and literary exhibits

[1] *Vide* p. 374.

to the Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Benares. This valuable collection is valued at more than a lakh of rupees, and the whole of the second storey of the Sabha building erected at a cost of Rs. 25,000 has been given by the Sabha for this Museum. It is requested that the members of the Sabha and others interested in this work may help the Sabha by giving or procuring articles of artistic or historical interest for this Museum. Persons who wish to lay down any conditions for the articles they send may very gladly do so. Such conditions, if any, will be duly observed. It is hoped that gentlemen interested in art, archaeology and literature will help this work.

Before receiving this notice for publication I had seen the commodious hall in which the Museum is to find an abiding place. And I saw also the promising collection already installed there. The appeal of the Sabha should receive a generous response from all lovers of art.

Young India, 3-10-1929

455. *DUTY OF THE UNITED PROVINCES*

The reins of the Congress this year are in the hands of a great U.P. leader. For the coming year too they will remain in the hands of his youthful son. The responsibility of U.P. towards India has therefore increased a great deal. I do not recollect any leader having ever succeeded another from the same province as President. Of course, this is not the first occasion where a son succeeds his father. It is certainly a matter of great pride for a province that a son is recognized during his father's lifetime as fit to succeed his father as the leader of a great nation in the very next year.

Secondly, U.P. is situated in the heart of India. A battle of the campaign for India's freedom has already been fought in U.P. It is the arena of *Pujya* Malaviyaji's services. It is in U.P. that the Hindus' most holy places are situated. And there are also numerous relics of the Muslim emperors in the form of monuments. If the people of such a province work hard and try their utmost there should be no difficulty in realizing India's ambition next year.

U.P. is the home of so many big landlords and *talukdars*; at the same time there is poverty too. Possibly the poverty in U.P. is not worse than that in Utkal. Many areas have had famines for three years consecutively. The people have neither work nor money. They are starving. It can be true swaraj for them only

when they have regular work and can keep the wolf from the door. If the young men of U.P. so wish, they can provide for the people both work and wages by going to the villages and popularizing the charkha. At the same time they can help boycott foreign cloth. I have mentioned the charkha by way of example only. What I want is that we should somehow destroy unemployment and hunger among millions of our brethren and merge ourselves completely in their service. So long as we think of them from a distance only and do not go to them, and until we try to remove their troubles after understanding them, one must know that we shall have done little for them. Under these conditions swaraj will remain a mere dream.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 3-10-1929

456. LETTER TO M. HINDHEDE

CAMP AZAMGARH,
October 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and your pamphlets.[1] I am sorry to have to inform you that my experiment having apparently proved a failure I had to suspend it for a more auspicious occasion when I could have more leisure. I must confess that I have not yet found the substitute for milk. I have been recommended soya bean milk which I have not yet tried, soya bean not easily procurable in India. I am trying, however, to procure it. There is no difficulty about living healthily without milk but there is considerable difficulty in becoming strong after having lost it by protracted illness. Over forty companions tried unfired food with me and the majority of them could not make it a success and had to leave it.

Yours sincerely,

M. HINDHEDE, ESQ.
ERNAERINGSUNDERSOGELSER
FREDERIKSBERG ALLE 28
KOBENHAVN V

From a photostat: S.N. 15197

[1] The addressee had sent a few English pamphlets on diet. He advocated eating vegetables and fruit but did not believe in taking milk,

457. LETTER TO FREDERICK B. FISHER

CAMP AZAMGARH,
October 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter of the 25th ultimo. In the papers forwarded to me from Sabarmati I do not find the letter from the Golden Rule Foundation[1] of New York referred to by you. But I can guess the purport of that letter from your letter. As I am dictating this, one thing does occur to me, namely, the scarcity of milk for Indian children. What American friends may do in giving constructive help is not to send doles of charity but to send expert knowledge in dairying, experts who are not exploiters in the disguise of philanthropists but true philanthropists who will give knowledge for the sake of giving it and who will study the condition of India's cattle and show us the way of improving our cattle breed and the supply of milk from the existing cattle. This idea, if it is entertained in a proper spirit, can be considerably amplified.

Yours sincerely,

FREDERICK B. FISHER, ESQ.
BISHOP'S RESIDENCE
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
3 MIDDLETON STREET, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 15602

458. LETTER TO DR. H. W. B. MORENO

CAMP AZAMGARH,
October 3, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. I do not know how to console you. You sent me a report and you did not want me to hide my thoughts. I could not serve you by so doing. Why is 'half-borns'[2] a most degrading epithet? It has a well-known meaning and I

[1] The Golden Rule Foundation which was being founded for child welfare throughout the world was the successor to Near East Relief Association.

[2] *Vide* p. 331.

have seen it used in writings which are not intended to ridicule the Anglo-Indians. Should I be wrong in stoutly resisting any claim that may be put forth by anybody as by the ruling race? This must be so of course because the claims put forth by the ruling race are being resisted and are now in the melting pot. I know that your birth is not a matter of your choice but the attempt that is being made to conceal the birth is a matter for sorrow even as an attempt made by Indians living in the colonies or in Europe has appeared to me to be a matter for sorrow when they have vainly tried to conceal their birth. Perhaps I am in much closer touch with Anglo-Indians who do not even know the name Anglo-Indian and who only know that their male parent was a European who had deserted them and their mothers. Are you sure that the leaders are "now prepared to throw in their lot with the Indians"? I know that such is your own personal wish but such by no means is the opinion even of the majority of leaders. You ask me in the last paragraph of your letter to reproduce it in *Young India.* I shall gladly do so if you insist but I would dissuade you from so insisting. Your letter lends itself to much hostile criticism. The Anglo-Indian problem is far deeper than you seem to imagine and it cannot be dealt with by mere writing in the newspapers. It can be dealt with by enlightened Anglo-Indians realizing the gravity of the position and stooping to lift those who have neither a fair skin nor money to live up to the dangerously artificial life that the leaders are living. I must confess that I am not so much interested in the affairs of the microscopic well-to-do minority of Anglo-Indians as I am in the multitude that are living in a state of awful isolation neglected by their own and despised by those who consider themselves to be full-born.

Yours sincerely,

MR. MORENO, GENERAL PRESIDENT,
THE ANGLO-INDIAN LEAGUE
2 WELLESLEY SQUARE, CALCUTTA

From a photostat: S.N. 15631

STATE CENTRAL LIBRARY

459. LETTER TO AMINA QURESHI

AZAMGARH,
October 3, 1929

CHI. AMINA,

I was very glad to have your letter. The Gujarati is Qureshi's, but that does not matter. I hope you are keeping good health and that the young Begums are also in the best of spirits. Are you going on with Urdu studies? What have you been reading? Have you kept up the practice of writing regularly? If you have given it up, resume it.

Tell Imamsaheb that Maulana Suleman Nadvi who lives here, that is, at Azamgarh, took me to see Shibli Manzil. There are a number of Arabic and Urdu books in this Manzil which was established to commemorate the late Maulana Shibli.

Blessings to you both from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6655

460. LETTER TO BASANT KUMAR BIRLA

AZAMGARH,
October 3, 1929

CHI. BASANT KUMAR[1],

I was most delighted to receive your letter and the yarn. For you, the yarn is good enough. Here is my message: Having made a start you must continue to spin in the spirit of *yajna* and always remember *Daridranarayana*, i.e., our poverty-stricken brethren.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6178. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

[1] Son of G. D. Birla

461. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

GAZIPUR,
October 3, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. It is natural that you should feel worried about Prabhudas. But instead of letting the worry grow, try to overcome it. Prabhudas writes and tells me that he is more worried about my worrying on account of you both than about his fever. If it becomes clear that the plains will not suit him, we will let him remain in Almora. There is work there too, and he has already formed contacts there so that he will have no difficulty in staying on. It is likely, however, that by the time you get this letter, Prabhudas himself will be with you. I hope that he has no fever now.

I have written to Raghunath asking him to return there. I have written to Umiya, Kusum and Vasumatibehn too. The difficulty about slivers, therefore, will disappear. What have you been doing during their absence? I think that when you are short of slivers there, you should even get them from the Ashram and supply them. The reputation of a person or thing becomes established when all people have the same experience of that person or thing. I wish, therefore, that the work there may be reduced in scope as much as you like but should be systematized. At present you are getting work done with the help of whoever is available to you. Instead of doing that, you should now think what the minimum number is that you require, and arrangements should be made accordingly.

This must be fixed as a rule, that we should get slivers made exclusively through the new volunteers who are being trained. We shall then know who are capable of being trained. What will it cost to send one maund of slivers from the Ashram? Calculate this. It is necessary to estimate the likely expenditure if the work in Vijapur is organized into an institution. We shall consider afterwards how much to add to the cost of the khadi produced there.

I have two things in view: one, to provide work to the really poor women there and, two, to run an ashram on an extremely small scale but well organized. You are, however, the centre in all this as Vinoba is in Wardha. Wardha has developed along

its own lines as planned, and Vijapur along a different line. We went to Wardha of our own choice. To Vijapur we went by chance. The latter is a memorial to Gangabehn and Rustomji Sheth. As one of the oldest inmates of the Ashram, you seem to have settled down there in peace. I would, therefore, be happy if an independent weaving school could be run there as a branch of the Ashram and following the rules of the Ashram. Think about all this and write to me.

I have taken some time over this letter, and, therefore, I send a copy of it to Chhaganlal Joshi so that he too may know my views and make his suggestions. In any case remember that we wish to buy up the plot there whenever we can get it.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 148-50

462. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

GAZIPUR,
October 3, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I send with this a copy of the letter[1] I have written to Chhaganlal. Write to me when you have the time, and let me know the thoughts which occur to you on reading it. Discuss the matter with others too.

There is nothing more to write about today. You do quite right in giving me news about the illness of Rukmini[2] and others—you ought to give me such news. I hope by now no sign of the illness is left. If the charts which were prepared are good, you should get them printed.

I return with this Govindbabu's letter. I have never been satisfied with his work. But he has gone through much, works to the best of his ability and is self-sacrificing. We should, therefore, continue to send him money for the maintenance of his wife. About other matters, you should write to him from time to time, in the hope that it will have some effect. You should call for reports, etc., so that there may be some control on him. He does

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.
[2] Sir Raghavachari's daughter

not seem to have much faith now in spinning but he goes on doing the work as a matter of duty. In saying this, however, I may be doing him an injustice.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5450

463. *FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO MUNNALAL*

October 3, 1929

The distinction which you make between the Udyoga Mandir and the Satyagraha Ashram is not correct. The same men and women who lived in the Satyagraha Ashram now live in the Udyoga Mandir. But having realized their imperfection, they adopted a more fitting name. Work in a spirit of self-sacrifice by itself brings self-realization. The same is true about national uplift work. If we are sincere workers in the cause of national uplift, we shall naturally be working for our spiritual uplift. "Servant of the country" is a more modest phrase than "workers in the cause of national uplift". Have no doubt, therefore, that true service includes service of the country, of the *atman* and of God.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro-7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 151

464. *ANSWER TO "THE ENGLISHMAN"*[1]

[Before *October 4, 1929*][2]

Any such conference to attract me will have to be, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-10-1929

[1] In reply to its "enquiry as to his attitude in the event of his being invited to the Round Table Conference in London"

[2] Released on this date by the Free Press of India from Calcutta

465. *LETTER TO H. B. TEJUMAL*[1]

CAMP GORAKHPORE,
October 4, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

1. It is necessary to pray because prayer is food for the soul as food is for the body.

2. The body cannot live on prayer. For the body, honest labour is prayer.

3. It is a misuse of God's gift to use prayer for curing diseases.

4. It is a greater misuse to harness prayer for one's promotion in life or such material comforts.

5. Prayer is most helpful in spiritual progress and for subduing animal passions.

6. *Harinama* cannot be overpraised but *Harinama* in prayer has its limits.

7. If the prayer of one is more quickly answered than that of another it is a clear indication that the other lacks earnestness to that extent.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15359

[1] In reply to his letter dated September 29, 1929, which read: "Kindly reply yourself for the satisfaction of my soul and each question may kindly be separately answered: (1) Is it necessary to pray and why? (2) Can a person live on prayer alone, doing no work whatsoever for his livelihood, etc.? (3) My son has recently got a chorneal opacity of one eye as a result of small-pox. All surgeons and doctors opine that he will be permanently blind. Can it be corrected by prayer? (4) I am a doctor in Barrage on temporary list and there is no chance of becoming permanent. Can I, by prayer, become permanent, and rise in position, pay, comforts and happiness to my heart's satisfaction? (5) Is prayer helpful in spiritual progress and in subduing the animal passions? (6) There is too much praise of *Harinama* in our religious scriptures, so much so that one who concentrates on *Harinama*, has no more to do for this world and the next. All that he needs, will he get by *Harinama*? What is your opinion? (7) Why the prayer of one soul is quickly answered and that of another not heard at all? What is the reason?" (S.N. 15358)

466. LETTER TO HARISH CHANDRA DAS

CAMP GORAKHPORE,
October 4, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You can certainly serve the country while studying and that is by doing constructive work and rendering other social service. You can spin for at least one hour daily with your whole heart in it in the name of the starving millions. You can also pass your vacation going to the villages and serving them by doing sanitary work. There are many other things that will suggest themselves to you.

Yours sincerely,

MASTER HARISH CHANDRA DAS
P.O. BARIPADA
MAYURBHANJ STATE

From a microfilm: S.N. 15608

467. LETTER TO PRATAP S. PANDIT

CAMP GORAKHPORE,
October 4, 1929

DEAR PRATAP,

Giri Raj continues to write to me about his doings but I would like you to tell me about his progress either through your own observation or your foreman. You can hand the letter to Giri Raj for despatch or get my address from him.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N. 15616

468. LETTER TO GIRI RAJ[1]

CAMP GORAKHPORE,
October 4, 1929

MY DEAR GIRI RAJ,

I have your letter. I am glad you have taken long boots to protect your legs. I hope you have now thoroughly recovered. You must keep your health.

Dead cattle hide is certainly enough for our wants. Have I told you that we are exporting nine crores worth of dead cattle hide out of India? You must remember that millions in India go barefooted. Sir Nalini Ranjan Sarkar told me that the reason why many tanneries have failed was because the leather want was limited in this country. Anyway I did not expect you to raise such an academic question because it is exactly on such academic questions that many of the evils in the world are sustained, as for instance meat-eaters justify meat-eating on the plea that the earth will be overrun by the animals they ate if they became vegetarians. Birth-control people justify birth-control on the ground among others that there would be over-population if there was no artificial control. Even war has been justified on the ground that without it we should perish of pestilence and disease. Celibacy is condemned for one reason among the others that the earth will cease if all became celibates. Does it not strike you that it will be time enough to consider the question when we have absorbed nine crores worth of dead cattle hide? I am writing to Pratap Pandit and enclosing the letter with this. Your argument about machinery is not happily worded. Surely we can run a tannery both for the instruction of villagers and for supplying the wants of those who need foot-wear made out of dead-cattle hide. The main consideration about machinery is that it should not displace the labour of those who cannot otherwise be employed. You will find that this one argument answers all objections. We do not want to displace hand processes. We want to cultivate hand processes to perfection but where it is found to be absolutely necessary let us not hesitate to introduce machinery. Do you know that some of the most delicate life-saving appliances would have been impossible without the aid of some machinery? After all the simple

[1] In reply to his Hindi letter (S.N. 15612) dated September 28, 1929

charkha is also a machine. What we must dread is huge machinery run not by hand but by non-human power such as steam, electricity, etc. But even this need not be tabooed. If this is not still clear to you you must continue to challenge my arguments.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. GIRI RAJ
SURAJ MAL ONKAR MAL'S CHAWL
MATUNGA

From a photostat: S.N. 15613

469. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA MUKHERJI

CAMP GORAKHPORE,
October 4, 1929

DEAR SATIS CHANDRA,

I enclose herewith for your information copy of a letter written to Satis Babu of Khadi Pratishthan. I thought that I ought not to withhold the contents of that letter from you although they might be painful to you but I would like you not to be pained but take a detached view.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure 1

From a microfilm: S.N. 15630

470. LETTER TO MADHAVJI V. THAKKAR

GORAKHPORE,
October 4, 1929

CHI. MADHAVJI,

I have your letter. Before I can guide you in regard to your business, it is necessary for me to see you both at leisure. What have your brothers to say in the matter? If you have not resumed work for the present, how do you pass your time? I should like to ask you several such questions. As you cannot explain the position clearly in letters, nor can I understand it well if so explained, I should like you, if you are not in any hurry, to see me at some place where I may have leisure. According to the programme, I am at Gorakhpur for four days; but barring Monday,

on all other days I shall be touring places in the neighbourhood of Gorakhpur and return only to go to bed at night. I would then feel exhausted, and be hardly disposed to take up other work and, moreover, there is bound to be some local problems demanding my attention. I have therefore decided not to call you to Gorakhpur, and hence I am sending you no telegram. I will decide where we shall meet after getting your reply to this letter, which should reach you on Sunday morning. Your present diet is all right. There should be no persistent coughing. I am not worried because of your bringing out sputum occasionally. If you put ten to twenty grains of soda bicarb into the butter-milk or curds before taking it, the acidity will have disappeared completely. I take curds daily, but I regularly mix soda bicarb with them. There will be effervescence when you stir the curds after mixing soda; you should know then that the acid has turned into carbon dioxide gas and that the acidity has completely disappeared. If you keep up your strength, be in no hurry to start solid food. You should not mind the expenditure on food.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6793

471. LETTER TO MANILAL AND SUSHILA GANDHI

GU.,
October 5, 1929[1]

CHI. MANILAL AND SUSHILA,

I have your letters, as also Sita's photograph. It is a fine one. I hope you do not dress her in too many clothes and render her delicate.

I believe that the prevailing ill will between Hindus and Muslims is for the present unavoidable. Its remedy lies in patience and in passage of time. Go on doing whatever service you can and take offence at nothing. Bear with any opposition that people may offer. You should not lose heart or get tired because of persistent opposition. I certainly wish that you are not forced to run away from there in despair. But remember that the right course would be to judge your own strength and act accordingly, rather

[1] Gandhiji undertook an extensive tour of U.P. in 1929. The single letter available in the photostat is "Gu" which obviously stands for some obscure place in U.P. Gandhiji was in Gorakhpore on October 5, 1929.

than bow to my wishes. I am dictating this letter at a village in U.P. Probably I wrote to you earlier that Devdas had joined me at Kashi and is still with me.

So far I have been able to live on milk, curds and fruit. They seem to have agreed with me well enough. All are in good health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4761

472. LETTER TO KASHINATH

ON WAY TO GORAKHPORE,
Saturday night, October 5, 1929

BHAI KASHINATH,

As most of the accompanying note had to be written in the train, I could write it only in pencil. It is based on the article on tea sent by you. Send me any questions which may arise in your mind after reading it, so that if I think it necessary I may write further. I have not still been able to read the article on butter. About that, next time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5240

473. TELEGRAM TO H. T. SILCOCK[1]

[After *October 5, 1929*]

C/O G. W. MAW
FRIENDS MISSION
ITARSI, C.P.

YOUR LETTER. TWENTY-SEVENTH OCTOBER FIRST NOVEMBER MEERUT DISTRICT SECOND DELHI THIRD BULANDSHAHR FOURTH FIFTH ALIGARH SIXTH MUTRA SEVENTH BRINDABAN. COULD YOU COME MUSSOORIE BETWEEN SEVENTEENTH TWENTY-FOURTH INSTANT?

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 15247

[1] In reply to his letter dated October 5, 1929

474. *ACADEMIC* v. *PRACTICAL*[1]

A student writes:

> Very often you give replies to your critics which are quite correct in the academic sense; they give a sort of temporary satisfaction to the mind but in actual practice leave the riddle as unsolved as ever. Take for instance your saying, "Only a coward fights on the strength of numbers." It is all right in the abstract. It does for the time being bring one a sort of mental reassurance, but of what avail is it in actual practice? You preach your gospel of soul-force to all and sundry. But do you think that there is any chance of your utopian advice being seriously taken by those who have not faith even in the spinning-wheel and khadi? Won't your preaching be, like pouring water over a duck's neck, utterly futile?"

I certainly hope that my advice about soul-force is not altogether wasted though it might seem unavailing for the time being. As an English proverb says, "Constant dropping will wear away a stone." And it is my faith that what seems utopian to the correspondent today will be regarded as practical tomorrow. History is replete with such instances. If the word 'soul-force' appears a meaningless term to our students today, it only shows to what an abject plight we are reduced. For is it not most tragic that things of the spirit, eternal verities, should be regarded as utopian by our youth, and transitory makeshifts alone appeal to them as practical?

We have an ocular demonstration of the futility of mere numbers before us every day. What stronger proof of the proposition can be needed than that a nation of three hundred million Indians is today being ruled by less than one lakh Englishmen? The very sight of a lion puts to flight a thousand sheep. The reason is plain. The sheep are aware of their weakness, the lion of its strength. And the consciousness of strength in the latter overpowers the numerical strength of the former. By analogy may we not deduce that 'soul-force' or 'spirit force' may not after all be a mere chimera or figment of imagination but a substantial reality?

I do not wish to disparage the strength of numbers. It has its use but only when it is backed by the latent spirit force. Millions of ants can kill an elephant by together attacking it in a vul-

[1] The Gujarati original of this appeared in *Navajivan*, 6-10-1929. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

nerable place. Their sense of solidarity, consciousness of oneness of spirit in spite of the diversity of bodies, in other words, their spirit force, makes the ants irresistible. Even so the moment we develop a sense of mass unity like the ants, we too shall become irresistible and shall free ourselves from our chains.

It is my firm faith that the students of our national schools, a mere handful though they may be, if they are inspired by a real spirit of sacrifice and service and a living faith in their ideals, will stand the country in far greater stead than all the students in Government educational institutions put together. That quality is more than quantity is sound theory because it is true in practice. Indeed I hold that what cannot be proved in practice cannot be sound in theory.

When Galileo declared that the earth was round like a ball and turned on its axis, he was ridiculed as a visionary and a dreamer and was greeted with abuse. But today we know that Galileo was right, and it was his opponents, who believed the earth to be stationary and flat like a dish, that were living in the cloudland of their ignorance.

Modern education tends to turn our eyes away from the spirit. The possibilities of the spirit force or soul-force therefore do not appeal to us, and our eyes are consequently riveted on the evanescent, transitory, material force. Surely this is the very limit of dull unimaginativeness.

But I live in hope and patience. I have an unshakable faith in the correctness of my proposition, a faith that is based on my and my companions' experience. And every student, if only he has got the faculty of patient, dispassionate research, can experimentally prove this for himself:

1. That mere numbers are useless.
2. That all force other than soul-force is transitory and vain.

It goes without saying, that if the above propositions are correct, it should be the constant endeavour of every student to arm himself with this matchless weapon of spirit force by dint of self-discipline and self-purification.

Young India, 14-11-1929

475. CONCERNING GOD

A friend writes:[1]

This problem confronts many people; hence I should like to discuss it here a little. As the friend has observed, there may be weakness in my writing, but I am not aware of it. I have of course written what I have learnt from experience. But the experience is indescribable. I can give you only a glimpse of it and that can only be done in ordinary language. How can one compare divine intervention with human intervention? God and His laws are not disparate. Neither karma nor God spares anyone. Both are the same thing. One thought makes us cruel, another makes us humble. In this world an extraordinary sentient power is at work and we recognize it by whatever name we wish. But it does intervene daily in all our tasks. Every one of our thoughts is karma, which has its fruit. The fruit is subject to divine law. Hence either God or His law does intervene in all our actions whether or not we are conscious of it or acknowledge it.

Nothing is accidental in this world. What happens is subject to law. Only our ignorance is so great that we are not aware of its working. How can I construe it as an accident if a snake passes by me and still does not bite me? Why should not I regard it as God's grace? Or why should I not look upon it as due to my religious merit? The sting of pride born of religious merit is more poisonous than a snake-bite. Pride melts away in the presence of divine grace.

As there is an article[2] about faith in this very issue, I do not repeat it here. I have no use for blind faith. I put my intelligence to work where I see a palpably worldly reason. But when the intelligence tires out, I push faith to the fore and attach little importance to accidents.

[1] The letter is not translated here. It had referred to Gandhiji's following statement in *An Autobiography*, Pt. V, Ch. XXI:
"The rule of not killing venomous reptiles has been practised for the most part at Phœnix, Tolstoy Farm and Sabarmati. At each of these places we had to settle on waste lands. We have had, however, no loss of life occasioned by snake-bite. I see, with the eye of faith, in this circumstance the hand of the God of Mercy. Let no one cavil at this, saying that God can never be partial, and that He has no time to meddle with the humdrum affairs of men."

[2] *Vide* pp. 435-6.

But I cannot kindle faith in God by rational argument. I have tried here a little logic. It is good if there is someone to whom this argument appeals. I cannot impart to others faith in God through my writings. I must admit that my experience is of use only to me. A doubting heart must seek the company of the good. Its quest constitutes an endeavour worthy of man—even though it might not succeed.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 6-10-1929

476. WHAT DOES KHADI MEAN?

A twelve-year-old boy writes:[1]

There is nothing new in this use. Even if there is a coarse mill-made dhoti and one wants to put it to such use, that can be done. But the significance of the above statement is that mostly one gets such ideas only after donning khadi. Khadi sets us thinking about the poor people and thereby we use it carefully. Moreover, it is a matter of surprise that a youth of twelve years has imbibed such sense of thrift. Such fine results have been experienced by many families on account of khadi activity. May the other youths also emulate the example of this youngster. The reader should know that from the financial condition of this young man's family, there is no need for him to be thus economical. But when the whole of India is looked upon as a family, it is necessary even for a millionaire's son to be economical and to utilize the money thus saved for his poor brethren, the other children of Mother India.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 6-10-1929

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had used a dhoti for a year and then out of the torn garment he had made six handkerchiefs, one of which had been sent to an exhibition in order to show how worn and torn clothes could be turned to good use.

477. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

GORAKHPORE,
October 6, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. As I have not become the President my responsibility for doing something in January—according to my nature and to the teaching of the *Gita*—has doubled now, in the same way that the responsibility of a voluntary worker is greater than that of a person who works for money. To put this in the language of the *Gita*, there is a possibility of attachment in work done with a crown on one's head, whereas work done without such a crown is more likely to be free from attachment.

And if my responsibility has increased, that of the inmates of the Ashram also increases. If the country is able to do nothing and if I see the fitness of the Ashram inmates, something can certainly be done through them. None of you, therefore, has any reason to despair or to be complacent. This, of course, does not mean that I have now a plan of action. That will come when God inspires it. My life is ruled by faith.

You can read this at prayer time. It may be read at the time of the morning prayer, not at the time of the evening prayer. About other matters, I shall see what I can write with all this pressure for time on me.

At 5.45.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5451

478. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

GORAKHPORE,
October 6, 1929

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your letter to hand. As your mother takes no service from you, I do not feel you have a duty to go to Delhi. I can understand that your duty might consist in staying on at the Ashram or Vijapur because by living at either of these places you can prepare yourself for the future as also build up your health. But you must not go by what I feel. Follow the dictates of your conscience. If you cancel the trip to Delhi I would advise you to proceed to Vijapur which, as you have found, suits your health better. Therefore it is preferable to stay there for the time being. Raghunathji, Govindji and others are well versed in carding. They will certainly teach you something of it. The gaps in your training there can be filled up at the Ashram. Most of it you will learn by practice and as you gain strength you will gradually find it more interesting. I would not dare to introduce any changes from here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Now you have learnt enough by experience to know what food you should take or avoid.

My health is good. The same diet is continuing. The frequency of meals and the quantity of milk have been reduced. Instead of four I am taking three lb. of milk and curds.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2366

479. *LETTER TO ASHRAM BOYS AND GIRLS*

Silence Day, October 7, 1929

BOYS AND GIRLS,

I have no letter from you. I sometimes wonder who from among you can accompany me on my tours. The only underlying idea is that boy and girl students should get better trained for service. From that point of view, some things appear essential to me:

1. According to his or her present idea, the candidate intends to dedicate his or her life to service.

2. He or she is an expert in spinning, can card, gin, spin as fine yarn as we want, can repair implements, recognize the varieties of cotton, test the quality of yarn and calculate its count, etc.

3. He or she has a good handwriting and can write fast.

4. He or she has most of the *bhajans* by heart and can sing them.

5. He or she prefers and observes self-control in food and drink, and is ready to observe it at any place where he or she may go.

You can add other points besides these. You and the teachers should think over this matter.

I would be surprised if you were taken aback by these conditions. I know that we have not remained as vigilant as we should have. What I have put forward here should be a common thing for most of you. It should not be found that any boy or girl student between 12 and 15 does not know the *Gita* by heart. If he or she learns one verse every day, the whole of the *Gita* will have been learnt by heart in two years. Drop by drop fills the lake.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 152-3

480. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

GORAKHPORE,
[October 7, 1929][1]

SISTERS,

I am reminded of you on so many occasions. As I see women and observe their condition in the course of my tours, I think of the tasks before you and realize that real education is of the heart. If pure love springs in it, everything else will be added. The field of service is unlimited. Our capacity for service can also be made boundless, for there is no limit to the strength of the soul. If but the doors of one's heart have opened, it can contain everything. Even a little work done by such a person will shine out. On the contrary, he whose heart is sealed may do much work, but it will get little appreciation. This is the significance of the story of Vidura's offering of *bhaji* and Duryodhana's of fruit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3704

481. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

GORAKHPORE,
Silence Day, October 7, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I enclose with this Chhaganlal Gandhi's. The suggestion that if anyone from Mansa offers to come and learn [carding] he should be taken in, seems all right to me.

I return the telegrams sent by you. I have thrown into the waste-paper basket the heap of other telegrams which came here straight.

The locusts have done much damage here too. We shall know now what the result there has been.

My free time today is over, and so I shall write no more.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] From *Bapuna Patro-1: Ashramni Behnone*, p. 68

[PS.]

Today's post arrived after this was written. I am surprised to read about the pain which Kaki suffered. How did it come on all of a sudden? I am also likely to hear from Kaka.

It cannot be said that your weight has increased. It would be good if you could go out. You should certainly not allow your health to waste away.

If Jayanti meets me in Hardwar, it will be all right. But you should now have the whole programme with you. He may see it and select any place from it which suits him. However, 14-15 at Hardwar seems convenient. Before that, I have to visit small villages.

I had a letter from Narandas. You should win over a man like him. I am simply in love with his straightforwardness, purity and frankness. We, that is, chiefly you, ought to be able to use his services fully. This, however, is my view and my wish. What matters is your view and your wish.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5466

482. *TELEGRAM TO SHANKERLAL BANKER*

[*October 8, 1929*][1]

BANKER
MAJUR OFFICE
AHMEDABAD

MANGALDAS'S STATEMENT FOR UMPIRE RECEIVED. GET FROM HIM COPY AND WIRE IF ANYTHING DEMANDS SPECIAL REPLY. I DON'T THINK REQUIRES ELABORATE REFUTATION.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15516

[1] As in the S.N. register

483. TELEGRAM TO MANGALDAS GIRDHARDAS

[*October 8, 1929*][1]

SHETH MANGALDAS GIRDHARDAS
AHMEDABAD

RECEIVED STATEMENT FOR UMPIRE. PLEASE GIVE COPY MAJUR OFFICE IF NOT ALREADY SENT ENABLE ME GET THEIR STATEMENT IF ANY. HOPE YOU ARE WELL.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 15516

484. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

GORAKHPORE,
October 8, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I send with this Ayodhyaprasad's letter to me and a copy of my reply to him. Go through both. I do not follow what he wants to say. I do not understand what he says about Mathuradas either. Nor do I understand what his complaint is. Write to me and explain if you know what it is.

I have gone through Ranchhodbhai's speech. I found in it nothing worth reproducing. I went through Parnerkar's speech too. It does not give an account of the progress made by the goshala, but explains what needs to be done. It is not necessary to print the speech. A report of this kind should give figures of the increase in the yield of the cow's milk, the fodder consumed, the cow's weight, the percentage of fat in milk, the average price of the cows, the expenditure on maintaining crippled and infirm cattle and that on maintaining milch cows only, the profit earned from castrated bulls and the expenditure involved in not castrating the bulls, a comparison of the prison [*sic*] cows and the *kankareji* and other cows in Gujarat, a comparison of the cows in Gujarat with cows in Hissar, a comparison of cows with buffaloes, etc. A report containing such information would be of great value. We ought to have such a report with us, for we have now started a school and

[1] As in the S.N. register

train students, and also intend to institute certificates in this field as we have in khadi work. We wish ultimately even to award degrees. We ought, therefore, to have a report of the kind I have set out. We see some reports of this kind which have been published as books and become famous. Ours is an unexplored field so that all our reports can be of that kind. I expect such reports from our workers. Show this letter to Parnerkar and Valji. Surendra, too, may read it.

Were necessary reforms carried out at the time of the Exhibition? Are the dung and urine of the cattle fully utilized? Has the uncleanliness to which I had drawn attention been removed now?

I heard a startling thing in Agra. Whereas the hide of one of our cows weighs about 20 lb., that of a cow in Europe weighs about 80 lb. I believed till now that we supplied to the whole world hide for the soles and heels of shoes. I discovered in Agra that in Europe they always make the soles and heels from the hide of cows and bulls, and that their hide is stronger than even the hide of our buffaloes. There may be some exaggeration in this, but all this is interesting information.

I have not yet read Surendra's report fully. I shall also let you know the thoughts which occur to me after I have read it. I return with this Parnerkar's report.

I dictated the paragraphs above at half past five in the morning in Gorakhpur. I am dictating what follows in Basti. I got the post sent to this address.

We cannot give to Prabhashankar the bungalow reserved for the doctor, for the latter may now arrive any day. Moreover, Ratilal and Prabhashankar are at present on extremely unhappy terms with each other. The latter has harassed even Dr. Mehta a good deal. He cannot, therefore, be lodged in the doctor's bungalow. If there were a vacant room in the Ashram, we would have certainly offered it to him. Write to him, therefore, and tell him that apart from Dr. Mehta's bungalow there is nothing else in the Ashram and that a part of the bungalow is occupied by Manilal Kothari, and the ground floor, which is vacant, was especially got vacated for Dr. Mehta; add further that all the rooms in the Ashram are occupied.

My certificate to Budhabhai is not to be treated as gospel truth. I can state only the impression which I have formed from a distance; if I imagined anything contrary to that impression or refused to state, when the occasion demanded, what my impression was, that would be a blot on my vow of truth. Hence, the certificate I gave was the only one I could give though in point of fact

it might be understood. I think you should attach more weight to what Harihar and others, who have come into contact with him, may have to say. If, therefore, you meet Budhabhai, tell him only what you think right and feel no hesitation in doing so. You will thereby have done your duty as a friend and served Budhabhai's true interests. If he has beaten his wife, he has of course committed a sin. He has no right at all to beat her. If he does not speak with her, that also is difficult to understand, though of course sometimes this can be a form of satyagraha.

I understand what you say about Madhavlal. I have no letter from him. Ordinarily, we can say that we cannot give him money for his wife. Madhavlal is slow of understanding, and so we should take no offence at what he says. If we can tolerate his dullness, he may even become intelligent. Take him into confidence and have a talk with him when he is alone. Tell him all that you think. Having taken him in and let him stay for so long, we cannot abandon him. He seems to be sincere, and so he cannot but be of some use. We should find out in what way he can be used.

It is necessary to take the advice of an experienced engineer about how to change the course of the river. Such an engineer can suggest some practical means.

Fever seems to have claimed many victims and harassed them a good deal.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5452

485. LETTER TO VALJI G. DESAI

GORAKHPORE,
October 8, 1929

BHAISHRI VALJI,

I am enclosing Bhai Nagindas's letter and his article. He desires the article to be published as a Supplement to *Young India.* Though its basic idea is true and the figures, etc., given in it are valuable, the article has not been written so as to be readily understood by the man in the street. I believe it can be very much abridged. If you can find the necessary time, you may make out

of it a new article, short and pointed. If that is not possible, for want of time or for any other reason, you may return both.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 7402. Courtesy: Valji G. Desai

486. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAMDAS THAKURDAS

GORAKHPORE,
October 8, 1929

BHAISHRI,

You are aware of Bhai Jagjivandas's efforts in connection with milk supply to Bombay and about the B.B.C.I. rates for carrying milk and its containers. From what he writes it appears as if the officers are merely arrogant in not acceding to his request, but I hesitate to believe this. Bhai Jagjivandas says that you are aware of the problem and in a position to do something about it. If you can give me some news about it, please do so.

What about salt? I have not yet been able to write about it myself; but I have been revolving it in my mind. I have looked through the old speech of Pennington. I got nothing out of it. Please send me better literature if you know of any. I shall be in Hardwar on the 14th and the 15th.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

Purushottamdas Thakurdas Papers, File No. 84/1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

487. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NATH BANERJEE[1]

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. I have preferred to observe silence over the self-immolation of Jatindra Nath Das because I feel that by writing on it I would have done more harm to the country's cause than good. There are many things on this earth on which I hold decided opinions but I retain those opinions to myself when I think that expression of those opinions can serve no useful purpose.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BHUPENDRA NATH BANERJEE
3-1 LANSDOWNE LANE
KALIGHAT, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 15598

488. LETTER TO BHUPENDRA NATH GHOSH

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. If you will look up the articles I have written in *Young India* about fasting and hunger-strikes you will discover that so far as my silence is required by anybody it is to be found there. I have preferred to be silent over Jatindra Nath Das's self-immolation because any expression of my opinion at this juncture is likely to do more harm than good to the country's cause.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. BHUPENDRA NATH GHOSH
9/1/A NANDARAM SEN STREET
P.O. HATKHOLA, CALCUTTA

From a microfilm: S.N. 15598-a

[1] In reply to his letter (S.N. 15597) dated September 25, 1929

489. LETTER TO GIRI RAJ

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

MY DEAR GIRI RAJ,

I have your letter. I fear you may not go to the V. G. Institute. If Prof. Chhaya would give you private tuition and if you want it you may take it. But really speaking you ought to be able to do all this by self-study. This condition of helplessness that we find around us must be got over. You have had sufficient training to enable you to prosecute further studies in practically any branch without the help of any instructor. The use of a laboratory may be necessary. That can be easily arranged but I would like you not to be in a hurry. The first thing is to become a practical tanner. When you have done that you will find the theory to be much easier to grasp and a previous knowledge of practice would help you in checking wrong deductions from theory. I know of many who possess full theoretical knowledge of tanning, who cannot tan a single hide. I would, therefore, like you to concentrate your attention just now upon becoming a perfect practical tanner, even to hold his own against the village tanner. You will find this to be no light task and you will remember that village tanners have no knowledge of chemistry. The modern system of education has made everything so difficult and therefore so inaccessible to the vast majority of people. Our business is to reverse the process.

From a microfilm: S.N. 15615

490. LETTER TO JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

MY DEAR JAIRAMDAS,

Jamshedji Mehta has written to me two letters giving me chapter and verse that his Committee is in no way official except that it has an official nominally [as] its president who was elected at a public meeting and not officially imposed. He tells me also that the whole responsibility is entrusted to the Executive Committee. Kripalani who paid a flying visit to Hyderabad recently confirms this. I therefore propose to lift the embargo on the Guja-

rat money held by Malkani but I am awaiting his letter. If meanwhile you have to say anything to me please write or telegraph. Here is a copy of my programme. I can understand your difficulty about domestic affairs. You shall certainly attend to them but it is too early to say how things will shape themselves in December and January. We shall of course meet before then when we shall be able to discuss the programme for the next year. You will give me your impressions of your tour in Karnatak as also in Gujarat.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure: Programme

SJT. JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM
CONGRESS HOUSE, 414 GIRGAUM BACK ROAD, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15637

491. LETTER TO O. B. DE SILVA[1]

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter for which I thank you. You have an expert in Ceylon itself trained at the Ashram and in charge of spinning work. His name and address are as follows:

Jaivardhan Jairamdas
59 Wellam Pitya, Colombo

With reference to the Labour Conference any Asiatic organization can be represented at the Conference. I am sure you have only to apply. If there is any difficulty you will please let me know.

Yours sincerely,

MR. O. B. DE SILVA
"LAURISTON"
MUTWAL
COLOMBO (CEYLON)

From a photostat: S.N. 15202

[1] In reply to his letter (S.N. 15201) dated September 20, 1929, which read: "You must be aware that the charkha has no vogue here. . . . But unemployment and a financial breakdown have given a nasty shock to our habitual complacency. . . . There is only one cotton-mill here, and the field for a charkha programme is ready to be worked. When we have arranged the finance could you give us for even one month a helper from your Ashram?

492. LETTER TO GANGA NATH JHA[2]

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your invitation to address the students of your University during my forthcoming visit to Allahabad. I note that you will arrange the exact date and time with Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.

Yours sincerely,

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR
ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITY
SENATE HOUSE, ALLAHABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 15627

493. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

MY DEAR KUMARAPPA,

You will please forgive me for not acknowledging at once your very full, frank and exhaustive letter. Continuous travelling has prevented an earlier acknowledgment. What led you to infer that I had already formed an opinion? I consider your letter to be so good that I have taken the opportunity of sending it to Miss Evelyn Gedge and I have suggested to her that she should write to you directly. I appreciate all that you have said in your letter. I hope you are getting on well there and keeping good health.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. KUMARAPPA
VIDYAPITH, AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 15636

There is further an Asiatic Labour Conference being held in Bombay. Ceylon is left out. Could you not use your influence to discover why? . . . I know you will help us."

[2] In reply to his letter (S.N. 15626) dated October 2, 1929, Gandhiji addressed the students on the morning of November 17, 1929.

494. *LETTER TO K. A. FITTER*[1]

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter. The books[2] you mention have been received at the Ashram. I am not likely to reach the Ashram before the end of November. I am not therefore sure when I shall get the time to see the books. I may, however, mention to you that *Navajivan* is not a review paper at all.

Yours sincerely,

K. A. FITTER, ESQ.
SECRETARY, THE IRAN LEAGUE
HORNBY ROAD, FORT, BOMBAY

From a microfilm: S.N. 15246

495. *LETTER TO ASA SINGH*[3]

CAMP BASTI,
October 8, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

If you send your invention to the Secretary, Spinners' Association for inspection your invention would be secretly guarded from being copied. But it is open to you to patent your invention before showing it to anybody and if you will patent it, it does not

[1] In reply to his letter (S.N. 15245) dated September 23, 1929

[2] A set of *Avestana Javahiro* written by F. K. Dadachanji. They were comparative studies in religions, throwing a new light on the Zoroastrian and other religions. The addressee wished to have them reviewed in *Navajivan.*

[3] In reply to his letter dated September 24, 1929, which read: "According to your advertisement about a spinning-wheel that you may spin 16,000 yards per day of 8 hours, etc., I have designed one which is quite agreeable to the requirements desired. It will spin 6 times more than the present one which I understand spins from 2,500 to 3,000 yards per day of 8 hours. May I know the procedure I should adopt for keeping the invention secret in submitting it to the Spinners' Association? I am afraid of its being copied by someone if I apply for a patent." (S.N. 15356).

matter who copies it because it cannot be used commercially by anybody else.

Yours sincerely,

ASA SINGH, ESQ.
C/O THE COMMERCIAL BOOK CO.
BRANDRETH ROAD, LAHORE

From a microfilm: S.N. 15357

496. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

BASTI,
October 8, 1929

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your letter.

You should not have this recurring fever. I think you should go to Vijapur and help as much as you can but never at the cost of your health. There is no harm in taking *roti* if you can digest it. I hope to reach the Ashram on November 26. The remaining days I intend to share equally between the Ashram and Wardha.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2367

497. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

CAMP BASTI,
October 9, 1929

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

What sorrowful news you give me about Father? I know how helpless he becomes when he has any illness at all. Your letter was received only two days ago. It is now therefore more than three weeks after operation[1] and I hope that Father is as chirpy as ever before. Anyway you would give me fullest information and if necessary telegraph to me at Hardwar where I shall be about the 14th instant. I shall be in Mussoorie from the 17th to the 24th. I like your energetic plea for equal rights of inheritance for women. Evidently you do not read *Young India* regularly, much less *Navajivan* although I see you can trace Gujarati letters.

[1] Of the nose

I did deal with the question of inheritance in *Young India*[1] but I shall carry out your desire and revert to the subject using a portion of your letter as my text. I do not need to be a girl to be wild about the disqualifications imposed by the man in power on woman.

Now about Jatin Das. I have been deliberately silent because I have not approved of the fast. But I have refrained from saying anything as my opinion would have been distorted by the officials and grossly misused.

Yours,
BAPU

MISS RAIHANA TYABJI
CAMP BARODA

From a photostat: S.N. 9611

498. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

BASTI,
October 9, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I dictated yesterday a long letter to you. I forgot to mention one thing, and that was your reference to confidence. I smiled as I thought what an imperfect means of communication language is. It was after your explanation that I could understand the meaning of your words "deserving the confidence". But in the context in which you wrote the sentence, I understood it to mean that you were eager to make an effort to win my confidence. I could not see that you were referring to your effort to deserve the confidence which you already enjoyed. But now I understand. That effort, of course, you should always make. But worry should have no place in it at all.

The effort not to lose the confidence of a person after we have won it indicates attachment on our part. Man is so imperfect a creature that he may place confidence today and withdraw it the next day over a trifle. What difference does it make whether or not we enjoy the confidence of such a person? We should, however, aspire to be worthy of the confidence of the entire world, for if we are able to take a single breath, the reason is the whole world's confidence in us. If that were not so, people

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLII, "Position of Women", 17-10-1929.

would have killed one another long ago. Hence, being worthy of other people's confidence is no more than devotion to duty and this we should practise without attachment.

What I ask from you, therefore, is a mind at peace with itself in the midst of any amount of work and an attitude of extreme generosity towards the environment. When you acquire these, you will find your work quite easy, for your words will then penetrate directly to the heart like an arrow and neither Madhavlal on one side nor Narandas on the other will ever misunderstand your meaning.

I have made this letter short. If, therefore, you find it difficult to follow my meaning, return it along with your questions and I will try to explain more clearly.

I expect to get details of the passing away of Kaki.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5453

499. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

ON WAY TO MANAKPUR,
October 9, 1929

CHI. JAMNADAS,

As I am writing this letter in a running train, I can use only a pencil. I have read your School Report. It does not include what I require. At the end of the Report the demand should be stated clearly. Now let me know this in a letter or send a telegram. My programme is enclosed. What is the minimum amount you require, and in how many instalments? If you wire to me state only this. In the letter state also the maximum you would like to have. As it is, you feel the pinch of the rent for the school land. It will be good to buy the land outright. See the Thakore Saheb if you have not done so. What will it cost to buy it outright? How is it that your eczema is still not cured? What remedy are you applying?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 8699. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

500. MESSAGE TO SIKH LEAGUE

MANAKPUR,
[*October 9, 1929*][1]

Please convey my good wishes to the Sikh League meeting at Lyallpur. I hope the League will have the wisdom not to boycott the Congress and realize that the question is not closed but open for discussion and adjustment.

The Tribune, 12-10-1929

501. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

MANAKPUR,
October 9, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN (SENIOR),

I have had no letter from you for many days. Do write once a week at least.

I think you must have been by Kaki's side at the time of her death. If you were not, whoever was present should send me an account of her last moments.

What is your present weight? What is your diet? How does Lakshmi behave nowadays? How is Raiya's condition now? How much of your time do you have to give to making bread? And what is its quality now?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–6: G.S. Gangabehnne, p. 27

[1] Gandhiji was in Manakpur on this date.

502. *CONGRESS ORGANIZATION*

These columns have repeatedly insisted that a perfected Congress organization almost means attainment of swaraj. This will not be true of every country. It is true of India because of its peculiar position. We are ruled by the hypnotic spell that the British rule has cast over us. But British rule means British organization more than its military strength. Military despotism on the part of a handful of foreigners alien in language, culture and habits can do very little if they had no organization to which the people were made by very subtle methods to respond. The moment that spell is broken, that moment the rule disappears. The British can then remain only as friends and servants of the nation at its will. The guarantee for the safety of their persons and legitimate interests will be the goodwill and honour of the nation, instead of the mounted forts which after all are a poor protection for a handful against an awakened nation counted in myriads.

The test of a perfect Congress organization is simple:

1. The Congress must be represented in every village.
2. Every member must know what the Congress means and must respond to the demands made upon him by the Congress.

The Congress is the only truly national political organization in the country. It is the oldest of its kind. It has had the services of the most distinguished sons and daughters of the nation. It is admittedly the most powerful organization in the land. It ought not to be difficult for such a body to expand itself and find its flag flying in every village.

Let us with this end in view study the very interesting and instructive bulletin just issued by the Secretary. It contains an exhaustive analysis of the returns received from the provinces of their work regarding the enrolment of members in terms of the A.I.C.C. resolution passed at the Bombay meeting. Here is the consolidated table:

	PROVINCE	QUOTA	MEMBERS ENROLLED
1.	Ajmer	1,120	14,594
2.	Andhra	36,763	29,000
3.	Assam	8,337	(?)
4.	Bihar	72,588	78,107
5.	Bengal	1,24,413	93,385

6.	Berar	7,688	7,688(?)
7.	Burma	2,000(?)	1,904
8.	C. P. Hindustani	20,505	28,827
9.	C. P. Marathi	6,586	11,651
10.	Bombay	17,000	11,889
11.	Delhi	6,954	6,071
12.	Gujarat	7,396	15,990
13.	Karnatak	13,244	10,038
14.	Kerala	7,747	3,265
15.	Maharashtra	21,720	24,608
16.	N.W.F.P.	2,000	2,000(?)
17.	Punjab	51,718	27,490
18.	Sind	8,200	2,615
19.	Tamil Nad	51,784	4,500(?)
20.	United Provinces	1,07,724	67,849
21.	Utkal	12,421	6,945
	Total	5,87,908	4,48,416

The reader should not be satisfied with this table. He must procure the bulletin and study the analysis given for each province and each district wherever it was available. It will repay perusal, if he is at all patriotically inclined. Barring Ajmer whose membership is under dispute, Gujarat tops the list with double its quota. Besides Gujarat, Bihar, C.P. Hindustani and Marathi and Maharashtra are the only provinces that have done more than their quota. Berar and N.W.F.P. have just done their quota. The rest have not been able to reach it. It will be remembered too that the requirement was one in every four hundred of the population, barring the Indian States population and barring Burma and N.W.F.P. This was low enough in all conscience. There was a penalty attached to non-fulfilment of the provision. A fair effort was undoubtedly made by the workers in general to reach the quota required from their respective provinces. At the Lucknow meeting the A.I.C.C. waived the penalty as it would have meant disqualifying most of the provinces. But this waiver should really mean redoubled effort by the defaulters to make good their debt.

There is however a deeper truth underlying the figures presented by the bulletin. We have not yet got enough workers nor have we penetrated the villages. Many districts supposed to be backward have not been touched. For Congress workers no district is backward, or if it is, it should command their greater care and attention. The backward portions of Bardoli are showing

the greatest constructive activity. The backward Champaran of yore has to its credit the highest number of marks. It has 15,000 members enrolled against its quota of 4,522. It is invariably the experience that where solid, honest and sustained work has been done, people considered the most backward have responded in a most surprising manner. Though, then, much has been done, infinitely more needs to be done for the attainment of our goal. We may not be satisfied with the negative result that we are numerically better than the other political organizations.

Indeed there should be no competition between the Congress and the other organizations. If we would be true to ourselves, the Congress would be admitted by all to be the only national organization to which the members of the other organizations, whilst retaining their own, would deem it a pride to belong. For this consummation Congressmen should show striking results in constructive effort and broadest toleration towards those holding opposite views, so long as they do not come in conflict with the avowed object of the national organization.

Nor may we be satisfied with mere nominal membership. The workers have to keep themselves in touch with the newly-enrolled members. They have to share their sorrows. The new members may be strangers to khadi when they are enrolled. The only requirement of membership is signing the creed and paying the trifling monetary or yarn subscription. But a member loses the privilege of voting at Congress elections and other meetings, if he does not habitually wear khadi. It is the duty of workers to explain this clause to the new members as also to give them the history of the Congress. The workers should share their sorrows and their troubles, so that it may be noised abroad that the Congress is an instrument never of oppression and ever of real service to everyone in distress. Given a reasonable fulfilment of these elementary conditions, there is no reason why the Congress should not become an irresistible organization.

Young India, 10-10-1929

503. *NOTES*

Thanks

My thanks are due to the numerous friends who were good enough to send me birthday congratulations. They will excuse me for not sending them individual acknowledgments.

A Promising Effort

Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta, Khadi Pratishthan, sends me the following table[1] showing progress of work during the months of July and August and in forwarding it, says:

> The progress of work of the Rashtriya Sangha has been very slow on account of the season for sowing and transplantation of paddy covering the whole of July and August and some portion of September. The work has again begun, and it remains to be seen whether the first spell of enthusiasm will continue or not.

Though the actual work turned out will be considered by the reader to be little, it is not to be despised, for the beginnings of all constructive work have been known to be small, and where the workers have been true and the effort sustained, it has been known to have fructified a thousandfold in the fulness of time. Leaving aside the spinners for Bogra, for their return is not given in the table, there are 379 spinners who spun 102 seers in two months. This means 20 *tolas* roughly per head in two months, that is to say, $\frac{1}{3}$ of a *tola* per day which again means not more than half an hour's work per day. For these villagers even half an hour's work per day throughout the year is not a small thing. Again 102 seers means nearly 75 saris of ordinary length under 10 counts. This is so much added wealth production without interference with any other lucrative occupation. It should be remembered that this was the work turned out during a season of exceptional activity in the fields in the shape of sowing and transplantation of paddy. The Rashtriya Sangha deserves every encouragement in its effort. Its work bears the seeds of a majestic tree.

The Right Way

One of the fine results of the new awakening is that young men are realizing more and more fully the dignity of labour and the

[1] Not reproduced here

dignity of callings that do not carry with them any breach of morals. Thus in Ghazipur I found a barber who was educated there. He was a schoolmaster in a primary school belonging to the Municipality of Ghazipur, but had not given up his hereditary calling and was adding to his meagre salary of Rs. 17 nearly Rs. 10 from his profession. He said he could easily earn much more as a barber if he gave the whole of his time to it. This barber schoolmaster is a convinced khadi wearer, and he told me that all his people spun during their leisure hours and they were all wearing khadi. A barber is now undergoing a khadi service course at the Udyoga Mandir though he has not abandoned his calling. I wish that these examples will prove far more contagious than they have hitherto done. It is not enough that stray lawyers and doctors spin and weave, or stray barbers and tailors do national service, but thousands of professional men, artisans and agriculturists should, whilst following their callings, render national service by qualifying themselves, the literary professions by realizing the dignity of labour and the labouring professions by realizing the dignity of literature, and all doing everything to uplift the nation and refraining from doing anything that would degrade it.

Young India, 10-10-1929

504. TULSIDAS[1]

Several friends on various occasions have addressed to me criticisms regarding my attitude towards Tulsi *Ramayana*. The substance of their criticisms is as follows:

> You have described the *Ramayana* as the best of books, but we have never been able to reconcile ourselves with your view. Do you not see how Tulsidas has disparaged womankind, defended Rama's unchivalrous ambuscade on Vali, praised Vibhishana for betrayal of his country, and described Rama as an avatar in spite of his gross injustice to Sita? What beauty do you find in a book like this? Or do you think that the poetic beauty of the book compensates for everything else? If it is so then we venture to suggest that you have no qualifications for the task.

I admit that if we take the criticisms of every point individually they will be found difficult to refute and the whole of

[1] The Hindi original of this appeared in *Hindi Navajivan*, 10-10-1929. This is a translation by Pyarelal.

the *Ramayana* can, in this manner, be easily condemned. But that can be said of almost everything and everybody. There is a story related about a celebrated artist that in order to answer his critics he put his picture in a show window and invited visitors to indicate their opinion by marking the spot they did not like. The result was that there was hardly any portion that was not covered by the critics' marks. As a matter of fact, however, the picture was a masterpiece of art. Indeed even the Vedas, the Bible and the Koran have not been exempt from condemnation. But their lovers fail to discover those faults in them. In order to arrive at a proper estimate of a book it must be judged as a whole. So much for external criticism. The internal test of a book consists in finding out what effect it has produced on the majority of its readers. Judged by either method the position of the *Ramayana* as a book *par excellence* remains unassailable. This however does not mean that it is absolutely faultless. But it is claimed on behalf of the *Ramayana* that it has given peace to millions, has given faith to those who had it not, and is even today serving as a healing balm to thousands who are burnt by the fire of unbelief. Every page of it is overflowing with devotion. It is a veritable mine of spiritual experience.

It is true that the *Ramayana* is sometimes used by evil-minded persons to support their evil practices. But that is no proof of evil in the *Ramayana.* I admit that Tulsidas has, unintentionally, as I think, done injustice to womankind. In this, as in several other respects also, he has failed to rise above the prevailing notions of his age. In other words Tulsidas was not a reformer; he was only a prince among devotees. The faults of the *Ramayana* are less a reflection on Tulsidas than a reflection on the age in which he lived.

What should be the attitude of the reformer regarding the position of women or towards Tulsidas under such circumstances? Can he derive no help whatever from Tulsidas? The reply is emphatically 'he can'. In spite of disparaging remarks about women in the *Ramayana* it should not be forgotten that in it Tulsidas has presented to the world his matchless picture of Sita. Where would be Rama without Sita? We find a host of other ennobling figures like Kausalya, Sumitra, etc., in the *Ramayana.* We bow our head in reverence before the faith and devotion of Shabari and Ahalya. Ravana was a monster but Mandodari was a sati. In my opinion these instances go to prove that Tulsidasji was no reviler of women by conviction. On the contrary, so far as his convictions went, he had only reverence for them. So much for Tulsidasji's attitude towards women.

In the matter of the killing of Vali, however, there is room for two opinions. In Vibhishana I can find no fault. Vibhishana offered satyagraha against his brother. His example teaches us that it is a travesty of patriotism to sympathize with or try to conceal the faults of one's rulers or country and to oppose them is the truest patriotism. By helping Rama, Vibhishana rendered the truest service to his country. The treatment of Sita by Rama does not denote heartlessness. It is a proof of a duel between kingly duty and a husband's love for wife.

To the sceptics who feel honest doubts in connection with the *Ramayana*, I would suggest that they should not accept anybody's interpretations mechanically. They should leave out such portions about which they feel doubtful. Nothing contrary to truth and ahimsa need be condoned. It would be sheer perversity to argue that because in our opinion Rama practised deception, we too may do likewise. The proper thing to do would be to believe that Rama was incapable of practising deception. As the *Gita* says, "There is nothing in the world that is entirely free from fault." Let us, therefore, like the fabled swan who rejects the water and takes only the cream, learn to treasure only the good and reject the evil in everything. Nothing and no one is perfect but God.

Young India, 31-10-1929

505. LETTER TO GANGABEHN ZAVERI

GONDA,
October 10, 1929

CHI. GANGABEHN,

As the President of the Stree Mandal you may be regarded as being a person with a sense of responsibility. You have discretion, wisdom and considerable experience of the world. You have seen both prosperity and adversity. You are B.s[1] neighbour. Hence I should like you to answer the following questions and guide me.

What do you know about B.'s wife? Does B. always do her injustice? I of course know the wrong he committed in beating her for stealing cotton. My question, however, is about B.'s general conduct. Do you believe the relations between B. and N.[2] to be in some way impure? If so, on what basis do you hold it so?

[1] & [2] The names have been omitted.

It seems that the women talk a great deal about the two. Why is that so? Our rule is that no one should say anything against a person behind his or her back, that we should banish from our mind any doubt that may arise against a person and that, if the doubt is too strong to be banished, we ought to put it to the person concerned and listen to him or her patiently in the matter before any word on the subject escapes our lips anywhere else. If I had not observed this rule, I would have had to part company with a good many people. I often like writing to you, but restrain my wish and content myself with the general letter I may have written to the women.

How is Nanibehn Zaveri doing? She was to write to me about something, but she never did. Has Pannalal been keeping good health? Is agriculture prospering? Was any damage caused by the locusts? I hope Mahesh does not do as much mischief as he used to at the evening prayers.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3097

506. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

GONDA,
October 10, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I send with this B.'s[1] letter for you to read. I enclose my reply; read it and pass it on to him. Talk with him plainly. I have found his letter quite frank. B. is certainly prone to anger, but he has given me the impression of being a truthful man.

I have always believed his relation with N.[2] to be pure. I came to know only recently that she is not his sister.

I see that B. had shown his letter to you. I need not, therefore, send it. Write to me and tell me what injustice he did.

We have known from experience that many false rumours are spread about the relations of other men and women. It is true that sometimes these relations have been discovered to be impure. But that is no reason for us to be shocked. Such things will go on in the world. Our duty, therefore, is to examine every case with an unprejudiced mind. So long as we have no strong reason to look

[1] & [2] The names have been omitted.

at any such relation with suspicion, we should believe it to be pure. There is always the risk of our being deceived if we act in this manner, but it is any day better to run the risk of being deceived than of believing an innocent person to be guilty. Bear this in mind in coming to your conclusion.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
I have not revised this.

Read the letter to Champa, so that you will find it easy to come to a conclusion.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5454

507. LETTER TO A

GONDA,
October 10, 1929

DEAR FRIEND . . .[1],

I got your letter. There is nothing in it which need be kept secret. You have admitted your error, and so nothing more need be said about it.

A man has no right at all to beat any woman. Are men less guilty towards their wives? If, however, wives started beating their husbands for every misdeed, we would see very few husbands alive. If a woman has no such right, how can a man claim it? I do not write all this to point out your fault, but only to open your eyes so that you may feel the seriousness of your error still more and refrain from repeating it.

Moreover, you observe *brahmacharya* even in relation to your wife, so that it is all the more your duty to remain unaffected by her. You should forget the very thought that she is your wife. You should regard her as your friend and serve her as best as you can. If she stole cotton, you should have paid its price. If she steals again, you can fix a maintenance allowance for her and ask her to live separately from you.

Moreover, you had really no right to use her cushion. So long as your relations are unhappy, you should never accept a service or obligation from her, and in using her cushion you accepted, if not a service, an obligation from her.

[1] The name has been omitted in the source.

I also place before you a rather subtle consideration. No person who wishes to observe *brahmacharya* should use any article belonging to a woman towards whom impure feelings are likely to be aroused in his heart. Especially, he should not use an article like a cushion which she must have touched every day and which the man may have used together with her when in an impure state of mind. The vows which you have described are good. If they do not forbid milk, you may benefit by taking milk or curds. Do not take any vow which is beyond your strength. There is no harm if you cannot take a vow, but it will do you much harm if you take a vow and then are forced to give it up.

Have no fear at all if people talk ill of your relation with . . .[1] If you can say, with your soul as witness, that their evil talk has no basis in fact, you are safe. Have a frank talk with your wife. If she goes on harassing you though you commit no fault, you can be firm and tell her to go and live elsewhere. For the present, you must let her live with you as atonement for your fault in your relation to her and as a test of your capacity for tolerance. If you have anything more to ask, let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 160-1

508. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BARABANKI,
October 11, 1929

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ANAND BHAVAN
ALLAHABAD

AS PREVIOUSLY ARRANGED SIKH LEAGUE MESSAGE[2] ALREADY SENT THROUGH SARDULSINGH LAHORE.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 134E, 1929. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] The name has been omitted in the source.
[2] *Vide* p. 537.

509. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

BARABANKI,
October 11, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We have now come to Barabanki from Gonda. After bath, we attend a meeting and then resume the tour. I, therefore, stop here today. We shall spend the night at Hardoi. Pyarelal tells me that he has asked for the post to be sent there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5455

510. SPEECH AT POLITICAL CONFERENCE, HARDOI

October 11, 1929

Mahatmaji in his speech said:

We are habituated to pass resolutions without acting on them. I advise you to give up this mentality. This is one main obstacle in our path of progress. Had we fulfilled our promises of 1921, we should [have] attained swaraj long before. Another occasion is approaching when we would be put to test and there is a special responsibility on the people of this province as it is your province which has given the President of the next Congress. The responsibility is all the greater on the youth. Pandit Jawaharlal belongs to your province. At the same time, he is a youth. If you want to preserve your prestige and his too, you have to act as you say. You have already passed a resolution on untouchability. I hope you will pass similar resolutions on Hindu-Muslim unity and boycott of foreign cloth, which is possible only if you use khaddar. If you pass these resolutions, you have to abide by them. I hope and pray that you be prepared for the great struggle before us.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-10-1929

511. *KHADDAR AND UNTOUCHABILITY: DUTY OF INDIAN MUNICIPALITIES*

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

I have been asked by the Editor to answer the following question for this *Gazette*:

> What can Indian municipalities do in the matter of khaddar and untouchability?

My answer is as follows:

In the matter of khaddar a municipality can help—

First, by prescribing the use of khaddar for the uniform of its employees. This will be effective only if the members will themselves wear khaddar.

Secondly, by making all purchases of cloth for hospitals and the like in khaddar only.

Thirdly, by introducing the *takli* and carding-bow in all the schools under its control.

Fourthly, by removing all duty upon khaddar and by giving grants to khaddar depots within municipal limits.

In the matter of untouchability a municipality can help—

First, by promoting the reform by insisting upon inspectors of municipal schools securing admission therein of a minimum number of 'untouchable' boys and girls.

Secondly, by opening model schools specially for the instruction of 'untouchable' children.

Thirdly, by opening night schools for grown-up 'untouchables'.

Fourthly, by providing proper housing accommodation for all the 'untouchables' in its employ.

Fifthly, by inducing trustees of temples to open them to 'untouchables', and where this is not possible, by building attractive temples in suitable places, specially for the use of 'untouchables', but generally for public use, and encouraging the public to make use of these temples in common with the 'untouchables'.

Sixthly, by giving grants to schools, temples and clubs, etc., that would specially cater for 'untouchables'.

Untouchability is perhaps the greatest evil that has crept into Hinduism. The nearest approach to it to be found in the West was

untouchability of the Jews, who were confined to the ghettos. I do not know the historical origin of this disease. Socially it seems to have arisen from the desire of the so-called superior classes to isolate themselves from those whom they regarded as inferior. It is the excrescence of varnashrama dharma which has been misrepresented as the caste system with which, as seen in the multitudinous castes of latter-day Hinduism, the original four divisions have little to do.

Untouchability in its mildest form takes the shape of not touching or having any social intercourse with the 'untouchable'. In its extreme form it becomes *unapproachability* and even invisibility. The approach of a man within a defined distance or his very sight in some parts of the extreme south pollutes the 'superior' classes. The 'unapproachables' and the 'invisibles' are very few in number, whereas the 'untouchables' are roughly estimated at sixty millions. In my own opinion this is a highly exaggerated estimate.

Though I regard myself as a staunch Hindu believing in and having great veneration for the Vedas and the other Hindu religious books, and though I claim, not as a scholar but as a religiously-minded man, to have made a serious attempt to understand the Hindu scriptures, I can discover no warrant for this brutal doctrine of untouchability in it. Save for a few texts of doubtful authority in *smritis*, the whole doctrine of 'untouchability' is utterly repugnant to the spirit of Hinduism whose glory consists in proclaiming non-violence to be the basis of religion and which lays down the bold formula that all life, including the meanest crawling beings, is one.

But to a reformer like me this philosophical foundation of Hinduism affords but little comfort in the face of the cruel fact that professors of that religion regard innumerable fellow-beings as beyond the pale of society solely on the ground of their birth in a particular group of men and women in every way like them.

But this untouchability will soon be a thing of the past. Hindu society has become conscious of the hideous wrong done to man by this sinful doctrine. Hundreds of Hindu workers are devoting themselves to the uplift of these suppressed classes. Among them may be named late Swami Shraddhanandji and the late Lala Lajpat Rai. These, however, may not be regarded as orthodox. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji, who is accepted by all Hindus as an orthodox Hindu, has thrown in the weight of his great influence on the side of reform. Everywhere one sees the process of emancipation silently but surely and steadily going on. The so-

called higher-class Hindus are conducting schools and building hostels for them, giving them medical relief and serving them in a variety of ways. This effort is absolutely independent of the Government and is part of the process of purification that Hinduism is undergoing. Lastly, the Indian National Congress adopted removal of untouchability as a vital part of its constructive programme in 1920. It may not be superfluous to add that while untouchability is undoubtedly a grave social wrong, it has no legal sanction behind it. So far as I am aware, there is no legal disability against the 'untouchables'.

The reformer has still a stiff task before him in having to convert the masses to his point of view. The masses give intellectual assent to the reformers' plea, but are slow to grant equality in practice to their outcaste brethren. Nevertheless, untouchability is doomed, and Hinduism is saved. And, as I have indicated above, our municipalities can do much to bring about this salvation.

M. K. GANDHI

The Calcutta Municipal Gazette, Fifth Anniversary Number, Saturday, 23rd November, 1929; also S.N. 19854

512. LETTER TO AMAL HOME

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your two letters. I have not the leisure to write anything of value for your *Gazette*. Nor have I much faith in anything I may write bearing fruit. However I send you the enclosed[1] for what it is worth.

Yours sincerely,

Enclosure.

AMAL HOME, ESQ.
EDITOR, "THE CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL GAZETTE"
CENTRAL MUNICIPAL OFFICE
CALCUTTA

From a copy: S.N. 15605

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

513. LETTER TO FREDERIC STANDENATH

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your birthday greetings. I know that you are advertising me for all your work. Only I hope that you are not consciously or unconsciously exaggerating anything. Remember it is always best to underrate the merits of friends. I must not write to you more whilst I am continuously travelling. I am keeping good health on milk, curds and fruits. I am not taking any grains or pulses or vegetables yet.

Yours sincerely,

FREDERIC STANDENATH, ESQ.
GRAZ (IN SYRIA)
AUSTRIA

From a photostat: S.N. 15654

514. LETTER TO HARI G. GOVIL[1]

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter and the cutting[2]. You should ask Mr. Holmes as to what is happening to the American Edition of the *Autobiography*.

Yours sincerely,

HARI G. GOVIL, ESQ.
INDIA SOCIETY OF AMERICA
1107 TIMES BUILDING
NEW YORK CITY

From a photostat: G.N. 1025

[1] In reply to his letter (S.N. 15656) dated 6-9-1929
[2] From *New York Herald Tribune*

515. LETTER TO TAGE BUNDGAARD[1]

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I am much touched by your kind invitation but I do not see any chance of my being able to go to Denmark in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

TAGE BUNDGAARD, ESQ.
SILKEBORG, DENMARK

From a photostat: S.N. 15185

516. LETTER TO ELEANOR M. HOUGH[2]

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. You will please excuse me for my inability to send you the introduction you want.

Yours sincerely,

MISS ELEANOR M. HOUGH
2115 F STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

From a photostat: S.N. 15661

[1] In reply to his letter (S.N. 15184) dated August 1929. The addressee had sent birthday greetings to Gandhiji and had invited him to visit Denmark and, in particular, his native town which had a beautiful atmosphere.

[2] In reply to her letter (S.N. 15660) dated August 30, 1929. Miss Hough wanted Gandhiji's endorsement of a study she planned to make in India, namely, "The Relation of the Co-operative Movement to Indian Nationalism", it being the subject of her doctoral dissertation at the George Washington University. She wished to obtain a year's scholarship for the purpose from the Guggenham Memorial Foundation on the basis of Gandhiji's endorsement of the projected study.

517. *LETTER TO HENRY S. SALT*[1]

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I was agreeably surprised to receive your letter. Yes, indeed your book[2] which was the first English book I came across on vegetarianism was of immense help to me in steadying my faith in vegetarianism. My first introduction to Thoreau's writings was I think in 1907 or later when I was in the thick of passive resistance struggle. A friend sent me Thoreau's essay on civil disobedience. It left a deep impression upon me. I translated a portion of that essay for the readers of *Indian Opinion* in South Africa which I was then editing and I made copious extracts from that essay for that paper. That essay seemed to be so convincing and truthful that I felt the need of knowing more of Thoreau and I came across your life of him, his "Walden" and other short essays all of which I read with great pleasure and equal profit.

Yours sincerely,

HENRY S. SALT, ESQ.
21 CLEVELAND ROAD
BRIGHTON (ENGLAND)

From a photostat: S.N. 15663

[1] In reply to his letter (S.N. 15662) dated September 18, 1929

[2] *A Plea for Vegetarianism*; Salt had seen a mention of his book in Gandhiji's *Autobiography*. About forty years earlier, he had published a life of Thoreau. Now he was handing over his material to an American friend Ramond Adams who intended to write a fuller life of Thoreau. Salt had enquired if Gandhiji had read anything of Thoreau's and the extent to which he had been influenced by it as on many subjects Gandhiji's views seemed akin to Thoreau's.

518. *LETTER TO K. V. SWAMI*[1]

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I was pleased to find that you were on the fair way to be cured of your leprosy through *Surya Namaskar*. I would like you to report to me again when the restoration is complete. It would be better also if you could secure a medical testimony of the cure.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. SWAMI, B.A.
MERCHANT, PARLAKIMEDI

From a photostat: S.N. 15665

519. *LETTER TO ADELE KAUFMANN*

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I have your letter. If you do find your way to India I shall welcome you to the Ashram.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 15655

520. *LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR*

CAMP HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter enclosing copy of the proceedings of the public meeting held on the 2nd instant at Salem. Mahadeo

[1] In reply to his letter (S.N. 15664) dated September 12, 1929. The addressee had been in an advanced state of leprosy when he started *Surya Namaskar* as described the by Chief of the State of Oundh in his book titled *Surya Namaskar*. After 13 months of this exercise he had benefited greatly and expected to be completely cured in another six months. Swami wanted Gandhiji to publicize his case so that he could help other fellow-sufferers.

was telling me all about you but I was grieved to hear that you were not yet enjoying the best of health. I hope however that this will find you in better health.

Yours sincerely,

SJT. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR
THE ARAMA, SALEM
(S. INDIA)

From a photostat: S.N. 15666

521. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

HARDOI,
October 12, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I got your letter. When you are busy and have nothing in particular to write to me about, you need not write for the sake of writing. In any case there would be other letters from the Ashram. I would know from them that everything was all right.

If you let Dwarkanath remain, or keep him, we should pay him Rs. 60. I think it would not be right to pay Rs. 150 to Dinkarrai at present. So long as both husband and wife live in the Ashram, they will be saved much expenditure. They will have no rent to pay. Their manner of living will also change somewhat, so that, if they wish, they can easily reduce their future requirements. If he has, therefore, no special requirements outside, I would prefer to pay them Rs. 75 when we have had experience of him and can send him anywhere without hesitation. Then he may, if he wishes to save money, be paid Rs. 150. For the present we should think of keeping him in the Ashram in the hope that he will become an ideal dairy worker. We should, therefore, decide to pay him according to our standard. The Managing Committee may take all this into account and decide what it thinks best.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5456

522. *GUJARATIS' LOVE*

When I am being inundated in every place by love, it would be pointless and even invidious for me to measure or compare the affection showered on me in the different regions. The best way to acknowledge this debt of love is to imbibe it silently or, if one may say so, to endure it. Though I know this, I cannot always observe the rule. Where there are Gujaratis, they single me out for favoured treatment and they do not expect me to repay my debt of love even to the extent of my acknowledging it. One such recent incident took place in Kanpur which I cannot forget. There the Gujaratis invited me to a separate meeting and considering their numbers and the extent of their business they gave me quite a decent sum when compared to the collections made there. The amount was Rs. 1,152. But I am an avaricious man. The representative of the poor must perforce be avaricious. Therefore the collections of the citizens of Kanpur struck me as meagre. I complained to Dr. Murarilal and he endorsed the complaint. It was decided to make collections in the city. It was after this was arranged that I went to the meeting of Gujaratis. There also I lodged a similar complaint. The meeting took up the complaint forthwith and added Rs. 1,039-14as-6 pies to the sum of Rs. 1,152. Apart from this, the children and their teachers contributed Rs. 25-4 as. Thus, the total collection amounted to Rs. 2,217-2as-6 pies. The money that Gujarati women contributed is not included in this. I have all the details before me but it is not necessary to give those names. This article has not been written to record donations or names of donors. It is the overflow of my feelings. There is no exaggeration if I say that such love keeps me alive and increases my optimism. One can expect Rs. 200 from the man who donates Rs. 100, but not a pie from one who donates nothing. The Gujaratis who feed me with this potion of love should not sit back contented. I have written often and reiterate that foreign traders rule over us and hence if Indian traders are vigilant, the winning of swaraj will be child's play. If gunmen were ruling over us, some revolutionaries would have proved the necessity of guns. But where the Government is carried on for the sake of trade, it can be easily seen that if trade goes, the Government will also follow suit. That trade can be captured in two ways: One is to become like the foreign trader, the other is not to let that trade go on. Now his main trade is that in cloth, the others are organized behind it. Many of his cargo

ships are dependent on the cotton trade. And if the cotton trade goes, the steamers too come down crashing. This is not my assertion but that of an English writer. Hence those Gujaratis and other Indians who contribute money are to a small extent doing atonement. True atonement consists in purifying one's trade. The giving up of a trade which harms the nation is alone the true atonement. Those who contribute money say themselves that they have become conscious of this. When those who have understood act according to that understanding, one should take it that swaraj has been won. And this alone will be true swaraj.

This biggest of trades is in the hands of Gujaratis and Marwaris. Here the word 'Gujaratis' should be understood in its larger connotation as referring to those who speak the Gujarati language, so that the term includes all the people who live in Gujarat such as Muslims, Parsis, Christians and others. Therefore, if these two provinces wake up, the other provinces will surely do so of their own accord. I daily look forward to that auspicious time. The Gujaratis' love for me fills me with the hope that their contribution towards this end will be a large one.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 13-10-1929

523. A RUINOUS VICE

A gentleman from distant Uganda writes:[1]

We can call this a national vice. It betrays our rudeness and apathy towards our neighbours. That this vice still persists despite the awakening among us shows our indolence. It of course spreads diseases and we are rightly maligned for it in the West.

This vice is contrary to religion. When I returned to our country in the year 1915, this filthy habit had caught my attention well enough and I tried to find out what the various religions had to say about it. I do not remember where the collection of extracts is at the moment. But during this tour I came across one or two stanzas from the Hindu Shastras whose gist I give below:

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had referred to the Indians' bad habit of spitting almost anywhere—near them, on the road or in a railway carriage—and thereby causing the spread of infection through flies. He had also alluded to the practice, prevalent in Paris, of carrying small boxes for use as spittoons.

No one should urinate or defecate or spit into rivers, ponds, etc.

—*Krishnayajurveda*

No one should urinate or defecate in the middle of a village or a town or in temples, cremation grounds, open spaces, watering places or on roads.

—CHARAKA

One should not indulge in such acts as rubbing the nose, gnashing the teeth, biting the nails, cracking one's finger-joints, digging the ground [with one's toe], plucking grass-blades or playing with the earth, etc., etc.

—CHARAKA

From this we now see that that civilization has been destroyed. Or one may say that at the time when the above treatises were written, these habits were prevalent among the people and therefore the saints drew our attention to them. But these habits have not been corrected till today. Whatever the state of affairs in the past, we should devise remedies to get rid of them now.

The correspondent regards as unacceptable two of the remedies adopted in the West. They are no doubt disgusting but how can we hope for pleasant remedies when our body itself is a storehouse of urine and excreta? We should perform these activities in such a way that we ourselves and our neighbours are spared the risk of spread of disease. Only this much is possible. While walking on a public road, if one coughs and has to spit out phlegm, there is no other way but to spit into a handkerchief or a spittoon such as a clean box. If one has to spit into a handkerchief, the handkerchief which has been used once should be folded and put into the pocket in such a way that neither the hand nor the pocket gets soiled. Only a man who has got tuberculosis and is obliged to spit very often needs to keep a small box. But there are many occasions when it is not necessary to do so. When we are seated in a train, one should take the trouble to spit out of the window. When going along a road, one should seek a lonely spot which is not frequented and spit, etc., in a bush or in some corner there. To one who has the power of discriminating between good and evil and who cares for the convenience of others, easy solutions will readily suggest themselves. Before setting out on a short or long journey, a thoughtful man will so arrange the calls of nature as to cause the least inconvenience to others.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-10-1929

524. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

MORADABAD,
October 13, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL JOSHI,

Your letter of the 9th has been received here. It is surprising that no letters from me were received there for two days. I have to write to Bhansali every day. I have, therefore, not allowed a single day to pass without writing to you. But as the place changes every day, it may have happened that letters posted at successive places may not have been received by you in the order in which they were posted.

I am surprised to know that Ramachandra's health has gone down so much. Is the bread which they make all right now? Jayadev came and saw me yesterday. In Hardwar he will be the person in charge of arrangements for me. Devsharmaji will also see me not later than tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5457

525. LETTER TO ISHWARLAL JOSHI

MORADABAD,
October 13, 1929

CHI. ISHWARLAL,

If Chhaganbhai permits you, you may certainly have one year off. I would advise you to go to Madras. There you will be able to communicate with people only in English. I would put you in Rajagopalachari's Ashram so that you may learn English and also help him. One cannot learn English by reading a book for eight hours. But one learns it easily if one speaks and hears only English. That purpose is likely to be served there; but if you can think of any other course, by all means follow it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9278. Courtesy: Ishwarlal Joshi

526. SPEECH AT MORADABAD

October 13, 1929

Amidst the cries of "Long Live Revolution" and "*Vande Mataram*", Mahatma Gandhi was received at the railway station by a large concourse of people. He and his party stayed at the house of Moulvi Abdul Salam where a grand dinner was given in his honour.

In the morning Mahatmaji performed the opening ceremony of the Brijratan Hindu Public Library. He put to sale a chain attached to the library lock which fetched Rs. 76.

On the town-hall grounds he received addresses from the municipal and district boards and put to sale the caskets in which the addresses were presented. He was very keen on the collection of funds while the audience wanted to have a long speech on the burning problems of the day.

When a purse of Rs. 2,385 was presented to him he was requested to accept it in the spirit in which Shri Krishna had accepted rice offered by Sudama.

Mahatma Gandhi, however, said that whereas Sudama had given his all which consisted of only rice, Moradabad with its large population had contributed very little. He had received a telegram saying that Moradabad was not prepared to offer a large purse, but received later a telegram from the students saying that they were working hard to collect funds and were inviting him. He asked where those students were then. If they could not offer a purse befitting the position of Moradabad why did they invite him?

Referring to the addresses, he said that the best use he could make of the caskets was to sell them as he did not want them for himself.

He complained of a circular issued by the district board asking teachers to see that their pupils abstained from talking of the freedom of the country. He did not want to see their children wearing the chains of slavery and characterized such a circular issued by a board with an elected chairman and a majority of elected members as shameful. People generally got themselves elected for personal gain which he condemned.

Referring to the municipal board address, he said that though it boasted of the absence of communal friction he would call this state of affairs a mere armed neutrality. He would like to see real love between the communities and by having such love Moradabad could set an example to the whole of India. It was doubly the duty of the young men of these provinces to make the Congress a huge success as India had successively selected two Presidents, father and son, from U.P.

The Leader, 16-10-1929

527. LETTER TO ASHRAM WOMEN

HARDWAR,
Silence Day [October 14, 1929][1]

SISTERS,

Today we have arrived near the source of the Ganga. The Ganga entering the plains is very near here. If we go further up the river, we have to climb the hills.

Today being my day of silence, Kusum, Prabhavati and Kanti have gone out with Devdas for sightseeing. Nature is bountiful here, but man has spoiled the place all over.

I end here today.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3705

528. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

HARDWAR,
Silence Day, October 14, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have received here two days' post together.

You say you have enclosed Prithuraj's letter, but you forgot to do so. I do not see it with your letter.

You should not be indifferent about your health. If you are getting low fever, you are bound to feel exhausted. I feel like sending you away to Mussoorie. After sending you there, however, I cannot keep you long there and the visit would do no good. I should like you to go to Wardha or Pudupalayam. If you think you require a cold climate, go to Almora. I think it will be enough if you merely go out of the Ashram. You should not think, either, that you can leave only if Ramniklal reaches there. If Narandas agrees, hand over the charge to him. I will persuade him if you want me to do so. You should go away somewhere, somehow. Never overtax your health.

I send the second letter from Chhaganlal, too, for your information. Slowly he will start writing directly to you. He has

[1] From the reference to Gandhiji's visit to Hardwar

always suffered from this kind of excessive diffidence. You should tolerate it.

It is with my consent that the workers of the National Women's Council use foreign silk thread for embroidery on khadi. I have once written about this in *Navajivan*. There is no need to write about it again. Some reader may exaggerate the importance of the thing. We do use foreign thread for stitching our clothes. Embroidery is one step further than the stitching of dresses. At present we have reached the ground of khadi. In beautifying that ground, we use foreign dyes and foreign thread. Even so, I have opposed the proposal to stock such articles for sale in khadi stores. I have not, however, opposed separate stalls for such articles in exhibitions. No issue of principle is involved in this; it is a question of practical wisdom, discretion and what is feasible.

We must encourage, within certain limits, inter-provincial marriages. I would regard it as essential that the husband and the wife should learn each other's language. This was so in Rukhi's marriage. In this case the husband does possess a fairly good knowledge of Gujarati. I do not mind if the other members of his family do not have such knowledge. When a man and a woman marry at a mature age, the idea would be that they should have a separate establishment of their own. The members of the husband's family cannot stand in the way of their doing so. The wife ought not to be made to suffer at their hands. In this case, moreover, the two languages are nearly alike. Hindi, again, being the national language, both know it. In these circumstances, there is no possibility of any difficulty arising for want of knowledge of a common language. I shall not, however, elaborate this reasoning. It is of course necessary to think before forming a connection with someone from another province, but I see no need to ban such connections.

I had expected that I would get information about Kaki's death in today's post, but there was none. I am sure I will get some tomorrow. It is four days since Mahadev's telegram.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5458

529. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

[After *October 14, 1929*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Yesterday I got the post in the evening, two days' post together. I got Prithuraj's letter too.

As for the problem of disposing of Gujarat's khadi, we shall discuss the matter when I arrive there, and after I have thought about it I will write on the subject in *Navajivan*. It will not be difficult to dispose of it. You need not get alarmed if a small stock accumulates. It may prove useful at a time of difficulty. Only, we should have the necessary facilities to store it.

You may certainly go to the Punjab.[2] The climate there will become colder day by day and the cold will be more intense than in Ahmedabad. You should, therefore, take sufficient warm clothing and covering.

We shall certainly have to keep a watch over Bhansali.

Narandas feels that you have no faith in his capacity for work and that, deep in your heart, you do not want his help. He even suspects that perhaps you do not wish his presence in the Udyoga Mandir at all. I have written to him and told him that this might possibly be his illusion. But, so long as he entertains this fear, he will not accept responsibilities with an open heart. You alone can remove his suspicion. How, it is difficult to say.

If the work in Vijapur goes on all right, I would advise you not to worry about the slightly high cost of khadi for some time. I am sending your letter to Chhaganlal. I feel that, whenever anyone writes such a letter to me, it would be good if I sent it to the person concerned. Anyone would understand the frank sincerity behind your letter.

I see no need to invite a doctor to live permanently in the Ashram. If the secretary's notebook is maintained properly, it would give the correct information about such matters. How often in the course of a year do we require a doctor's services? A few visits, but in quick succession, may sometimes appear numer-

1 From the reference to Prithuraj's letter; *vide* the preceding item.

2 To attend the Lahore Congress; *vide* Vol. XLII, "Letter to Chhaganlal Joshi", p. 36.

ous. I do feel, however, that we should offer something to the doctor, though I would not mind if he refused to accept anything. Whatever he accepts will not be sufficient to cover his fees. The only return we can make to him is through our vigilance, our self-control, our daily growing spirit of service and our devotion to duty. The very fact that the doctor comes every time we call him shows that he looks upon us as worthy servants.

I shall have no objection if dispensaries are opened in places where spinning work is going on. Only, we should take care to see that the former do not overshadow the latter. Govindbabu's activity in this field certainly does that. I have an impression that the Abhoy Ashram at Comilla has combined the two in a beautiful manner.

What you write about the Maganlal Memorial is correct. I suppose you will be there in Wardha, will you not?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5477

530. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

HARDWAR,
October 15, 1929

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

Jayanti should have reached here yesterday morning, but he arrived in the evening. He had not been able to sleep the previous night, and so at Saharanpur, where he should have changed he was asleep and woke up after the station had been left behind. He travelled back to Saharanpur and lost time in that.

I had become impatient to hear more about Kaki's death. I got out from Jayanti as much information as he could give. Shankar must have recovered now. Chhaganlal Gandhi's letter was left out yesterday; I enclose it today. Wherever you find an error in his figures, please do draw his attention to it, and also let me know about it. I suppose the matter about Kathor will now be attended to after Diwali.

We are nearing the Diwali. When we were children, we felt right from the Dussehra day that the Diwali had arrived. We felt sad on the new moon day, thinking that the Diwali was now over. But we used to console ourselves with the thought that there was still the Dev Diwali to be celebrated and neglected studies, etc.,

till then. But at present the problem which we have to tackle is whether, after the Diwali, we should continue the common kitchen. If there is anything about this which you think you should discuss with me, do so. But you can even decide independently of me if you wish to. The chief responsibility in this matter rests on the women, and so they should think very carefully about the problem. Let everyone among them think for herself whether she has found advantage or disadvantage in the common kitchen. Do not hold too many meetings or take too many days for coming to a decision. Do not even spend too many hours. We gave the people freedom to reconsider the matter after Diwali. That is why, though my views are fixed, I have touched upon this matter so that all of you may use without hesitation the freedom that was given. We do not, however, wish to make it a subject for daily discussion.

Devdas requires an assistant in Jamia. He has come to know that Ishvarlal wishes to go out of the Ashram in order to learn English. He, therefore, suggested today that, if Ishvarlal went to Jamia, he, Devdas, would get some help and would himself teach the latter English. In Jamia Ishvarlal would not get the kind of English atmosphere which he would in Rajaji's Ashram. He would, however, get in Jamia the leisure which he would not at the other place. Ask Ishvarlal. If he wishes, he may immediately go to Delhi. Devdas will not be able to return to the place quite so soon, so that for the present Ishvarlal will act as a substitute for Devdas and teach the children spinning. By and by Devdas will return there. I do not wish to press Ishvarlal on this matter and ask him to go against his inclination. He may go only if he wishes to. Devdas's request was for Kanti, but I have assumed that you would not be able to spare him. I also feel that, if Kanti were to remain away from the dairy for a long time, he would lose interest in it and also the knowledge which he has acquired. In the end, therefore, he would succeed in neither task. If Ishvarlal is not ready for this but some others are, let me have their names.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]
I have not revised this.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5459

531. *LETTER TO GANGADEVI SANADHYA*

HARDWAR,
October 15, 1929

CHI. GANGADEVI,

How are you keeping now? I often remember you. Has the doctor put off the operation? If the doctor suggests it, do undergo it. Have no fear. How long do you sew these days? How is Totaram's eye?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2541

ADDENDA

1. NOTE TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI

[Before *September 6, 1929*][1]

Lest I forget, I shall note down just now:

1. Whatever the pressure of work, do not entrust any responsible work to the new person.

2. Giving Bhagawanji account work just now will mean his fall and ours.

3. Be firm and do what you think best about Jaisukhlal.

4. I will have a talk with Kasumba and explain the position to her. I have had one with Umiya.

5. I have refused to agree to Jaisukhlal's appointment as an agent. I have agreed to his appointment as a secretary, but there is a great difference between the two.

6. Have a talk with me about the cow-protection work. Kanti indeed works hard, but there is discontent below the surface. I have pacified the people, but that is not right. If we want the dairy to shine, Kanti will have to exercise restraint over his outside activities. If he does not, he will never get trained up and you may be sure that the work done so far will come to nothing. What would happen if Somabhai went to every place as an observer? Apply his example to the case of the dairy.

If Somabhai looks after farming and acquits himself well in the task, he also exercises restraint on himself; that is why the agriculture work is safe in his hands. Parnerkar flies in the air and that is why the dairy is not safe in his hands and no justice is done to students.

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, pp. 176-7

[1] According to the source, this was written sometime in September or October before the addressee left the Ashram for Lahore. Evidently, the note was written when both the addressee and Gandhiji were at the Ashram. On September 6, prior to his U.P. tour, Gandhiji left the Ashram for Bombay from where he went to Bhopal and Agra. This may be read after "Indian Culture", 5-9-1929.

2. *LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL JOSHI*

[*September 10, 1929*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

You must have received the mail sent yesterday. I completely forgot to include the letter to Bhansali.[2] I remembered about it late at night at 11 when retiring to bed and immediately rushed Pyarelal in a car to post it after affixing a late fee stamp. It was duly posted. I hope you got it.

Credit the amount received from New York in the Relief Fund. I have just returned from a visit to Sanchi. I have not yet seen the post. I will write if there is anything important.

How many attend the prayers? Is anyone enthusiastic about committing a chapter of the *Gita* to memory?

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine, p. 171

[1] In the source the letter has been placed between the letters of October 19 and October 21, 1929. From the reference to Gandhiji's visit to Sanchi, however, it is evident that the letter was written on September 10, 1929. This may be read after "A Letter", 9-9-1929.

[2] This letter is not traceable. The source, however, in a footnote here quotes a letter to Bhansali dated October 20, 1929, which is included in Vol. XLII in its chronological order.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

GOSEVA SANGHA

The Cow-protection Conference held at Belgaum on 28th December 1924 resolved to found a permanent body called 'All-India Cow-protection Association' and appointed a committee to frame a constitution for it. The Committee met in Delhi on 26th and 28th January 1925, and the constitution drafted by it was adopted with some amendments at a public meeting held in Madhavbag, Bombay, on 28th April 1925. This 'All-India Cow-protection Association', having not been able to command such public attention and sympathy as to entitle it to be called an all-India organization, its members met at the Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, on 25th July, 1928, disbanded it and adopted the following resolution:

"Inasmuch as the All-India Cow-protection Association has not been able to command public attention and sympathy commensurate with the all-India character it has claimed, and inasmuch as its activities have been confined to the slow spread of the objects of the Association and especially to helping to conduct a dairy and tannery at the Satyagraha Ashram in terms of the objects of the Association, and inasmuch as the subscriptions and donations are mainly confined to friends who are interested in the experiment, and inasmuch as the numerous goshalas and pinjrapoles which were expected to respond to and be affiliated to the Association have nearly entirely failed to do so, the existing members of the Association resolve to disband it, and not retaining the existence of the Association in any shape or form, to adopt the less pretentious title of Goseva Sangha (Cow-service Society) and irrevocably to entrust the affairs, management and control of the funds and stock of the Association to the following Permanent Standing Committee of management of the Society (For names of the members see below), with full powers to disburse the funds, conduct the said experiments, to add to their number, to fill up vacancies caused by the resignation or the death of a member, to expel a member by a majority vote and otherwise carry out the objects of the expiring Association and to frame a constitution and rule for the management of the Society and to make such amendments thereof as may from time to time be required."

In pursuance of this resolution the Standing Committee of the Cow-service Association hereby adopts the following constitution for it:

The object of the Cow-service Association and the means by which it shall carry on its work are identical with the object and the means of the late All-India Cow-protection Association, which are as follows:

Object

Whereas the Hindus have failed in cow-protection which is an obligation imposed on them by their religion, and whereas the cows in India and their progeny are deteriorating day by day:

The All-India Cow-protection Sabha is formed for the proper fulfilment of the religious obligation of cow-protection.

The object of the Sabha shall be to protect the cow and her progeny by all moral means.

'Cow-protection' shall mean the protection of the cow and her progeny from cruelty and slaughter.

NOTE. It will be against the fundamental policy of the Sabha to bring physical force or pressure to bear on those communities whose religion does not prohibit, or regards as obligatory, cow-slaughter.

Means

The Sabha shall carry on its work by the following means:

1. by pleading with those who may be ill-treating cows, bullocks, etc., and by carrying on propaganda against such ill-treatment by means of leaflets, lectures, etc.;
2. by taking charge of diseased and disabled cows and oxen from their owners wherever the latter cannot afford to maintain them;
3. by superintending and inspecting the administration of existing pinjrapoles and cow-protection institutions, and by helping in their better organization and management, as also by establishing fresh institutions;
4. by breeding model cows and draught cattle by means of cattle farms, etc., and by providing clean and cheap milk through properly kept dairies;
5. by opening tanneries for tanning hides of dead cattle and thereby stopping or reducing the export abroad of disabled cattle;
6. by enlisting men of character and education in the cause, and founding scholarships, etc., for training them in the work;
7. by holding an inquiry into the causes of the disappearance of grazing lands and into the advantages or disadvantages thereof;
8. by investigating into the necessity or otherwise of the practice of castrating bulls, and if found necessary and useful, investigating into the possibilities of discovering a harmless method of castration or a wholesome modification in the present method;
9. by collecting funds; and
10. by taking whatever other steps as may be necessary for the work of cow-protection.

Membership

Any person of the age of eighteen years, who subscribes to the object of the Association, and

1. who pays to the Association an annual subscription of five rupees; or

2. who sends to the Association 12,000 yards of even and well-twisted self-spun yarn; or

3. who sends to the Association every year two cow or bull hides whether raw or tanned,

shall be a member of the Association.

Any person who pays to the Association in advance a consolidated amount of Rs. 500 shall be a life-member of the Association.

Duties of Members

This Association has been conceived as a body of servants, who have not so much rights as duties, or to whom duties should be as rights. The following therefore shall be the duties of members:

1. They shall, as far as may be, use only cow's milk whenever they have an occasion to use milk or milk products.

2. Whenever they have to use leather articles for personal use they shall use only the hides of dead cattle and never use the hides of slaughtered cows or bullocks. With regard to other things made of leather, they shall also, as far as may be, use only dead cattle hide.

3. If members keep cattle for milk, they shall keep cows only and not buffaloes. They will reason with buffalo-keepers to replace buffaloes with cows.

4. They will carry the message of the Association to pinjrapoles, goshalas and similar humanitarian organizations.

5. In case they follow cow-keeping as a profitable occupation, they will devote all profits beyond their maintenance to the cause of cow-protection so long as cow-protection in India has not been placed on a satisfactory footing.

6. They will induce moneyed men to take up dairying and tanning for humanity's sake.

7. They will try to acquire the knowledge requisite for carrying on dairying or tanning, and will, wherever possible, seek to maintain themselves through the service of the cow.

Sympathizers

Any person, who, while approving of the duties laid on members, is unable to discharge them fully but is anxious to acquire the ability to shoulder them, may be a sympathizer of the Association, provided that he fulfils the conditions of membership in other ways.

Administration

The entire administration of the Association shall vest in a Standing Committee consisting of the following members:

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (President)

Revashanker Jagjivan Jhaveri (Treasurer)
Jamnalal Bajaj
Vaijnath Kedia
Manilal Vallabhji Kothari
Mahavirprasad Poddar
Shivlal Mulchand Shah
Parameshvariprasad Gupta
Dattatreya Balkrishna Kalelkar
Vinoba Bhave
Chhaganlal Khushalchand Gandhi
Chhaganlal Nathubhai Joshi
Narayandas Khushalchand Gandhi
Surendranath Jayasval
Chimanlal Narasinhadas Shah
Pannalal Balabhai Jhaveri
Yashvant Mahadev Parnerkar
Valji Govindji Desai (Secretary)

with full powers to disburse the funds, to conduct dairying and tanning experiments and otherwise carry out the objects of the Association, to add to their number, to fill up vacancies caused by the resignation or death of a member or otherwise, to remove a member by a majority vote on proper and sufficient grounds, to frame a constitution and rules for the management of the Association and to make such amendment thereof as may be required from time to time.

Only members of the Association shall be eligible for appointment to and continuance on the Standing Committee.

Five members shall form the quorum for a meeting of the Committee.

In case of emergency the President shall have the power of taking necessary action without waiting for calling a meeting of the Committee, and also when there is no quorum at a meeting actually called. The President however shall immediately inform the members of action thus taken.

Whenever it is difficult or unnecessary to convene a meeting of the Committee, the Secretary shall have the power to circulate a resolution among members and obtain their votes by correspondence. Such resolution shall be considered as duly agreed to if none of the members objects. If a member does not reply within a fortnight, he will be held to have waived his right to object.

The books of the Association shall be open to public inspection and shall be audited by competent auditors every year. A statement of accounts shall be published every six months.

The treasurer shall be responsible for the accounts of all the receipts and disbursements, all amounts exceeding one thousand rupees to be kept deposited in a bank of his approval.

All communications relating to the Association should be addressed to the undersigned.

Udyoga Mandir
Sabarmati

VALJI GOVINDJI DESAI
SECRETARY,
COW-SERVICE ASSOCIATION

Young India, 6-6-1929

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

[Before *August 24, 1929*]

BAPU,

I have your letter on Niranjan Babu's affairs. I welcome your decision about him. I have been trying to help him in my own way. I suggested to him that he should readjust his family obligations if he wants to stick to khadi and avoid similar grief in future.

Kristodasji saw me yesterday. He told me about a letter Hemprabha wrote to you. You took this letter to be a business one, being of the nature of an invitation to you to take up the responsibility of Pratishthan's ownership! I laughed loudly and heartily over it, for it was a love letter, pure and simple. Could love be so dull as to mistake it? And what was the origin of this? Hemprabha felt an yearning to be near you and being unable to take the journey and desiring all at Sodepur to be benefited by your presence, she desired that you should regard Sodepur as your own place and grace it with your presence for the spiritual uplift of all inmates.

But the matter of this letter was not all. I could not laugh away all the rest that Kristodasji said. He reported to me the conversation he had with you at Almora in which myself and Pratishthan were drawn in.

Niranjan Babu on his way back from Sabarmati met me. He also told me about your sarcasm about my Utkal report which I did not then understand at all, although what he said jarred painfully. Now after Kristodasji's interview Niranjan Babu's utterances become explicable. You have wronged yourself hopelessly in all these. But let time pass.

As I woke up this morning and was going to the prayer-ground a thought of Marcus Aurelius came across my mind and from the depth of my heart I repeated, "Today I shall meet with blows. . . . But I cannot be injured by anyone of them." At 2 p.m. Kristodasji came and blows there were sure enough.

My pranams,
SATIS

From a microfilm: S.N. 15194

APPENDIX III

LETTER FROM M. R. JAYAKAR

Private

391 THAKURDWAR,
BOMBAY,
August 23, 1929

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

I am writing this letter to you because I feel certain that you will not misunderstand its motives. It is nowadays the fashion in Bombay to condemn, as a communalist, any Hindu who happens to speak in favour of his community. Mahommedan leaders, of course, are immune from this charge. I am sure that you will not judge me by such a partial test.

My purpose in writing this letter to you is to make you acquainted with the apprehensions of a very large body of Hindus (outside the Hindu Mahasabha) that any attempt at this time to vary the solution of the Hindu-Muslim question adopted in the Nehru Committee's report is fraught with far-reaching consequences. I am sure, you are aware that many Hindus, who were against the continuance of communal representation, accepted the Nehru Committee's solution as a kind of compromise for the sake of peace and harmony. As I said in my speech at the Calcutta session of the All-Parties Convention last December, with reference to Mahommedan demands, that compromise had proceeded on four well-recognized principles, and that the demands set up by the Mahommedans at the Calcutta session were flagrant variations from those principles. These demands were then only five or six in number. They have since risen to 14. Even when they were five or six, they were turned down at Calcutta by an overwhelming majority of All-India delegates, including Sikhs and Christians.

One of the grounds of their decision was that the Mahommedans were divided, on these demands, into four well-known groups. Three of them were against joint electorates at any price. It was therefore not clear on whose behalf Mr. Jinnah spoke, and what bulk of the entire Mahommedan community would be placated if his demands were conceded.

My own opinion in the matter is that it would be desirable for us all to concentrate on the Nehru Committee's report, accepting it on all essential points. If any minor adjustments are needed in its proposals about the Hindu-Muslim question, which, if met, have a possibility of being accepted by the bulk of the Mahommedans, these may be considered when we reach the stage of finality, I mean in the sense that the stage is arrived at when the representatives of the Hindus, Mohommedans and Government meet and in a spirit of give and take, arrive at a compromise which is *final* and forms the terms of our future

Constitution. I refer to this feature of finality, because to me the danger of making any further concessions to Mahommedans at this stage appears to be great. The Government will clearly pick out all these concessions and make them parts of a Constitution entirely different from the one of which they were intended to be a part. Hindus then will be regarded as being estopped from raising objections on the ground that the items objected to are a matter of agreement between Hindus and Muslims.

Past experience shows that this fear is not without justification apart from what may have happened at and after the Lucknow Pact of 1916, I will quote a very fresh instance. You will remember that Mr. Jinnah, the Muslim League spokesman at Calcutta, openly claimed that, although the separation of Sind was, in the Nehru Committee's report, conditional on India having the Constitution recommended therein, Mahommedans ought to have the liberty of accepting separation of Sind, even if Government made it a part of a totally different Constitution. This makes clear the danger I am referring to.

I have good reasons to believe that Muslims will not get from Government any undue privileges this time. A section of that community is therefore anxious to make it appear that the concessions they want have been agreed to by the Congress. Hence the need of caution.

These are a few considerations which I thought it was my duty to respectfully urge on your attention. Perhaps you are yourself well aware of them all.

Offering you my apology for disturbing you in this matter in the present state of your health.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. R. J.

MAHATMA GANDHI
SABARMATI

Jayakar's Private Papers, Correspondence File No. 407, vi, pp. 149-51. Courtesy: National Archives of India

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(*The*) *Leader*: English daily published from Allahabad.

Navajivan: Gujarati weekly edited by Gandhiji and published from Ahmedabad.

NEHRU MEMORIAL MUSEUM AND LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Prajabandhu: Gujarati weekly published from Ahmedabad.

SABARMATI SANGRAHALAYA: Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period up to 1933; *vide* Vol. 1, p. 341 (January 1969 edition).

Shikshan ane Sahitya: Weekly Supplement to *Navajivan* started from July 21, 1929.

Young India (1919-1931): English weekly edited by Gandhiji and published from Ahmedabad.

CHRONOLOGY

(*June 1 — October 15, 1929*)

June 1: Gandhiji was in Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad.

June 12: Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt were sentenced to transportation for life for throwing on April 8 "two bombs in the Assembly".

June 13: In Bareilly, at workers' meeting, Gandhiji discussed question of Congress reorganization in terms of A.I.C.C. resolution.

June 14: At Nainital, spoke on khaddar, communal unity, prohibition and the removal of untouchability.

June 15: Visited Bhuwali.

June 16: In Tadikhet, spoke at Prem Vidyalaya anniversary celebrations.

June 18: At Almora, addressed the Christian community.

June 20: In Almora, made a moving reference to Padam Singh's death.

June 21: Left Almora for Kausani.

June 27: At Kausani completed introduction to the Gujarati translation of *Bhagavad Gita*.

July 2: Left Kausani.

July 4: Reached Kashipur in the morning and left for Delhi in the evening.

July 5: In Delhi.

July 6: Reached Sabarmati Ashram.

July 23: Spoke at Kadi.

July 26: Reached Allahabad; attended Working Committee meeting in Mayo Hall.

July 27: In Allahabad, moved compromise resolution on non-violent non-co-operation campaign which was passed by an overwhelming majority in the Working Committee.

July 28: Message to Bombay Congress Muslim party meeting at Congress House.

August 2: At Sabarmati Ashram, Gandhiji spoke on death anniversary of Tilak.

August 11: Arrived in Bombay; attended a conference 'in camera' at M. A. Jinnah's place; discussed "matters of common interest"; left for Ahmedabad in the night.

August 12: Returned to Ahmedabad; suffered from dysentery.

August 15: Gave up experiment of uncooked food; was under medical treatment.

August 18: Elected President of the 44th session of the Congress, Lahore.

August 20: Declined Congress Presidentship and suggested instead Jawaharlal Nehru's name.

September 6: Left Ahmedabad for Bombay.

September 7: In Bombay. Opened Crafts Block at National school, Ville Parle; laid foundation-stone of an ashram for women; presided over meeting at the Vanita Vishram for the blind; visited new building of A.I.S.A. Khadi Bhavan at Kalbadevi.

September 9: Associated Press released Gandhiji's appeal to mill-workers to keep pending announcement of arbitrators' decision.

September 10: At Bhopal, Gandhiji spoke at public meeting; visited Sanchi and left for Agra.

September 11: At Agra, spoke at public meeting; addressed women's meeting.

September 13: At Agra College, spoke to students.

September 18: Visited Dayalbagh.

September 20: At Mainpuri.

September 21: At Farrukhabad.

September 22: In Kanpur, spoke in reply to address by District Board and Municipality; spoke in reply to address by Piece-goods Merchants and Cloth Market Employees' Association.

September 24: Spoke at students' meeting.

September 25: In Banaras, spoke at untouchables' meeting; addressed students of Hindu University.

September 26: Addressed two women's meetings; spoke at Kashi Vidyapith; spoke at convocation, Kashi Vidyapith; left for Lucknow.

September 27: In Lucknow, spoke at public meeting.

September 28: Spoke to Lucknow University students; spoke at A.I.C.C. meeting.

September 29: Interview to the Free Press of India.
Jawaharlal Nehru was elected President for the Lahore Congress session.

October 1: Gandhiji was at Faizabad.

October 2: At Jaunpur.

October 3: At Azamgarh.
At Ghazipur.

October 4: At Gorakhpur.

October 8: At Basti.

October 9: Reached Manakpur at 10 a.m.; spoke at Raja Saheb's palace; left for Gonda by car at 3 p.m.

October 10: At Gonda.

October 11: Reached Barabanki; at Hardoi addressed political conference.

October 13: At Moradabad, performed the opening ceremony of the Brijratan Hindu Public Library; spoke at public meeting.

October 14: Reached Hardwar.

October 15: At Hardwar.

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107	Para 4, line 6	man of charity	A man of charity
118	Footnote, line 6 first word	and	end
179	Title	*WIDOWER*	*WIDOWERS*
217	Line 8 from bottom	offsprings	offspring
491	Title	*MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI*	*MATHURADAS PURUSHOTTAM*